

Appendices

Appendix A: Faroese clause structure

Appendix A1: Table of possible analyses

In this table, question mark does not indicate a native speaker judgement, but a possible position I deemed less likely than the hypothesis represented in Table 2.1, that nevertheless cannot be definitively ruled out by the data I looked at in the book. In (6), the finite verb *sigur* can only be occupying T if the adverb *altíð* is adjoined at T', since otherwise the unacceptable order **sigur altíð* would hold. I have notated (15) with a double question mark if the negative word *ikki* is adjoined at T', since (i) there is no definitive evidence that *ikki* ever shows up here, and (ii) it requires the analysis that the subject and finite verb are occupying Spec,CP and C respectively, which entails Spec,CP being an extra subject-licensing position, whereas the facts can still be covered if only Spec,TP is subject-licensing.

Table 1: Faroese clause structure: possible analyses

	Spec,CP	C	Spec,TP	T'	T	v'	v	Spec,VP	V'	V	V,Comp
1.	(?Tey)	(?hava)	Tey		hava	aldri			(?aldri)	lisið	bókina
2.	Tá	hava	tey	(?aldri)		aldri			(?aldri)	lisið	bókina
3.		at	Jógvan		hevur	aldri			(?aldri)	lisið	bókina
4.		at	Jógvan	aldri	hevur					lisið	bókina
5.			hvør	aldri	hevði					lisið	bókina
6.		um	hon	(?altíð)	(?sigur)	altíð			(?altíð)	sigur	satt
7.	(?Tey)	(?lósu)	Tey		lósu	aldri			(?aldri)		bókina
8.	Ivaleyst	skulu	tey	(?ongantið)		ongantið	selja	dreingjunum			teldurnar
9.	Ivaleyst	góvu	tey	(?ongantið)		ongantið		dreingjunum			teldurnar
10.	(?Tað)	(?hevur)	Tað	(?altíð)	hevur	altíð			(?altíð)	verið	tónleikur
11.	Tað	hevur	tónleikur	(?altíð)		altíð			(?altíð)	verið	
12.	(?Tað)	(?má)	Tað		má		hava		altíð	verið	nógv fólk
13.	(?Tað)	(?má)	Tað	(?ongantið)	má	ongantið	hava			verið	innlendsk trø
14.	Tann gamla bilin	víl	eg	(?ikki)		ikki			(?ikki)	hava	
15.	(?Eg)	(?las)	Eg	(?ikki)	las	ikki			(?ikki)		bókina
16.	(?Eg)	(?las)	Eg		las			hana	ikki		
17.	(?Eg)	(?havi)	Eg		havi			ongan		sæð	
18.	(?Eg)	(?havi)	Eg		havi			ongan næming		tosað	við ____

Appendix A2: Constraints

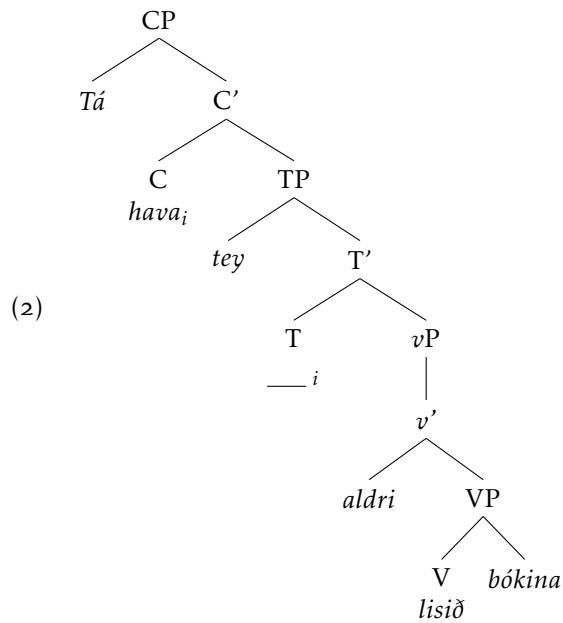
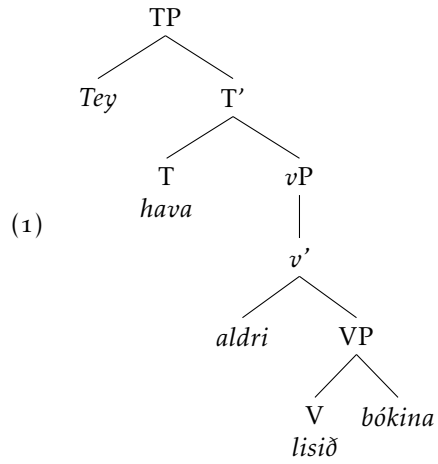
Definitions of all the constraints proposed in this book are presented in the table below, roughly in order of presentation and separated into the appropriate categories.

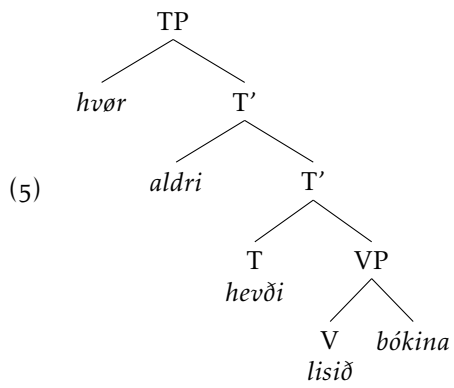
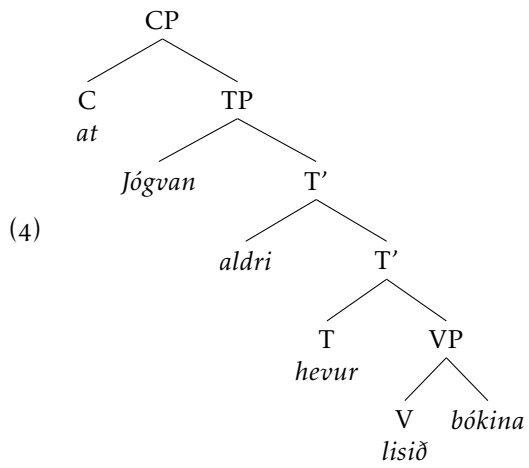
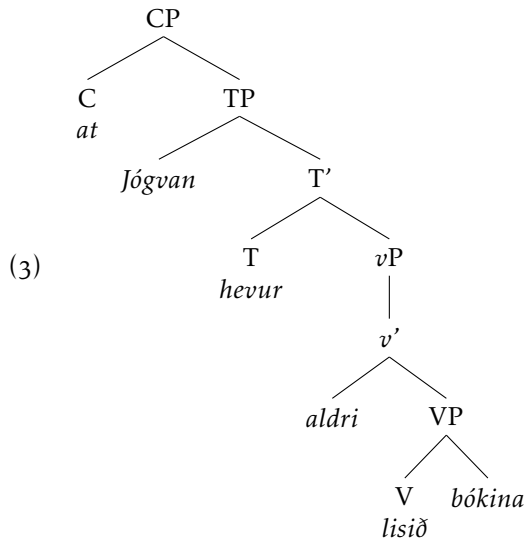
CONSTRAINT	FORMULATION
Undominated constraints	
*EMPTYSTRUC (*EMPSTR)	Assign a violation for each empty position in the output that does not satisfy requirements of an input feature.

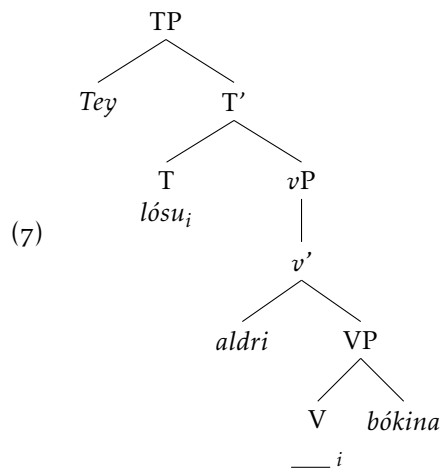
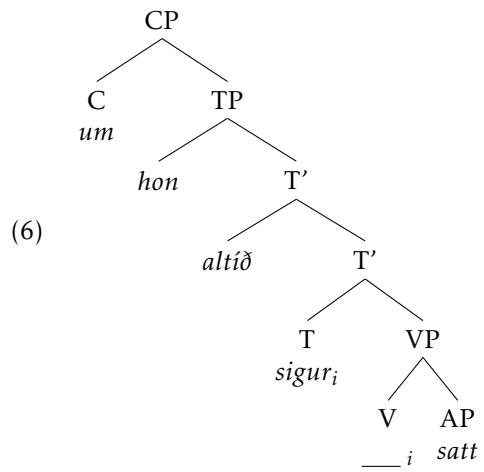
SUBCAT	Assign a violation for each subcategorisation feature not satisfied in the output.
Faithfulness constraints	
MAX	Assign a violation for each feature or item present in the input that is not present in the output.
MAX[−HR]	Assign a violation for each [−HR] abstract case feature on an input argument that is not realised by a [−HR] morphosyntactic case feature on an output argument.
MAX[−LR]	Assign a violation for each [−LR] abstract case feature on an input argument that is not realised by a [−LR] morphosyntactic case feature on an output argument.
MAX[LexCASE] (MAX[LC])	Assign a violation for each lexical case feature on an argument at the level of abstract case that does not correspond to the same lexical feature value on an argument at the level of morphosyntactic case.
DEP	Assign a violation for each feature or item not present in the input that is present in the output.
DEP[+HR]/P	Assign a violation for each [+HR] morphosyntactic case feature on an output argument that does not realise a [+HR] abstract case feature on an input argument.
PARSE	Assign a violation for a null parse of the input (i.e. if the output is zero).
Markedness constraints	
F<XP	Assign a violation for each operator, i.e. functional head, that does not precede its operand, i.e. complement phrase.
HEADFINAL (HdFIN)	Assign a violation for each head that does not occur in the final position of its phrase.
HARMONY (HRM)	Assign a violation for each phrase XP embedded in a phrase YP where XP and YP do not have the same headedness.
OBHEAD (OBHd)	Assign a violation for each phrase not containing an overt head.
OBSPec (OBSp)	Assign a violation for each phrase not containing a specifier.
MATCHF (MF)	Assign a violation for each positional feature matrix $F[vals_{pos}]$ that is not identical to its corresponding item feature matrix $F[vals_{item}]$.
MATCHCASE (MC)	Assign a violation for each positional case feature matrix $F[vals_{pos}]$ that is not identical to its corresponding item case feature matrix $F[vals_{item}]$.
MATCHDis (MD)	Assign a violation for each positional discourse-feature matrix $F[vals_{pos}]$ that is not identical to its corresponding item discourse-feature matrix $F[vals_{item}]$.
MATCHAdv (MA)	Assign a violation for each positional adverbial-adjunction feature matrix $F[vals_{pos}]$ that is not identical to its corresponding item adverbial-adjunction feature matrix $F[vals_{item}]$.
CHECKTns (CHKT)	Assign a violation for each Tense (T) head position not occupied by an item bearing a [$\pm fin$] feature (i.e. of category V).
VFinHi (VfHi)	Assign a violation for each finite verb not occurring in the highest available functional head position in the clause (CP).
ARGSP	Assign a violation for each finite TP in which no argument occupies subject position (Spec,TP).
OBJECTDP (ObjDP)	Assign a violation for each V,Comp position not occupied by a full DP.
AGR[+HR]	Assign a violation for each finite verb whose number agreement value is not identical to that of an argument bearing [+HR] morphosyntactic case in the same clause.
SUBJ[+HR] (S[+HR])	Assign a violation for each position bearing [+HR] (i.e. subject position) not occupied by an item bearing [+HR] case.

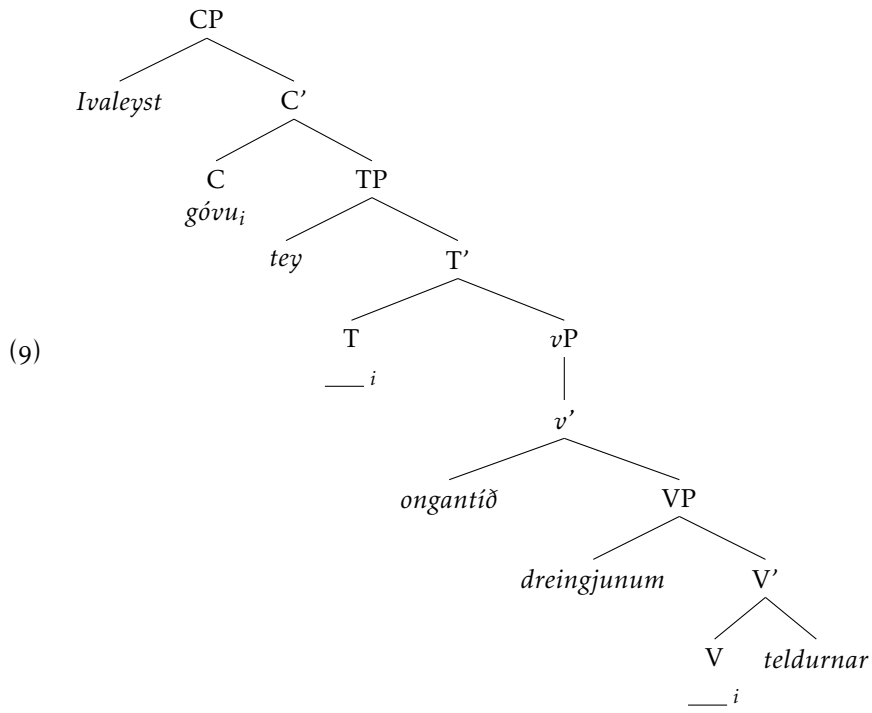
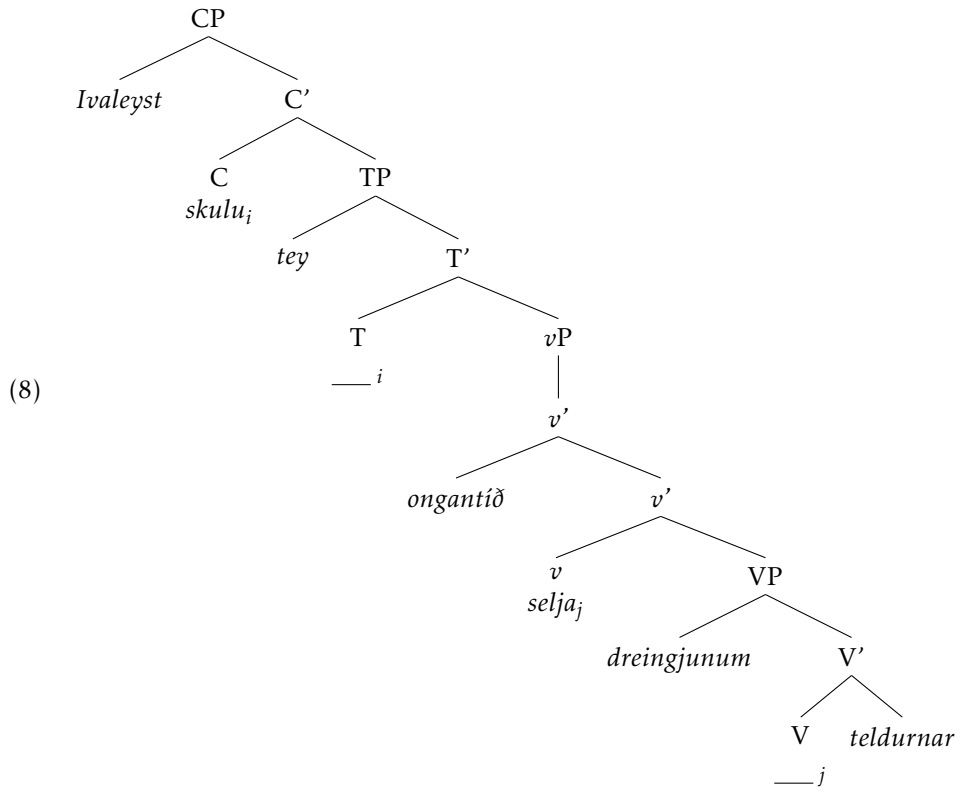
Appendix A3: Tree structures

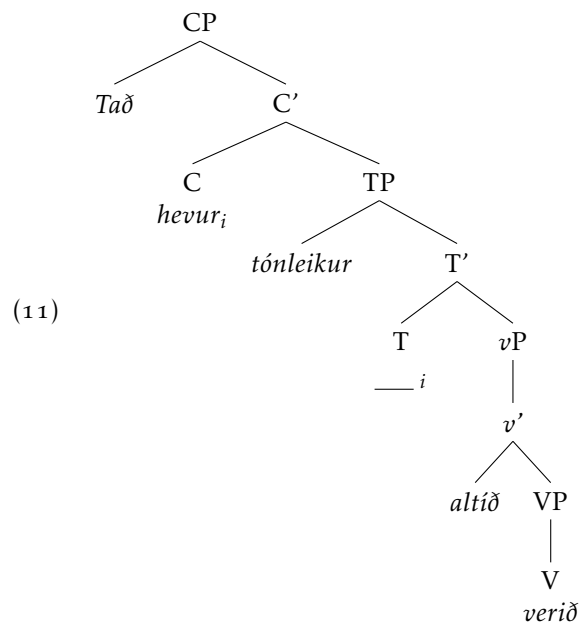
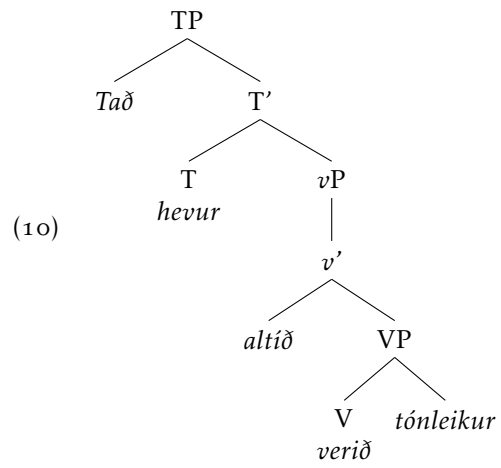
Tree structure diagrams for the proposed winning candidates for all of the Faroese sentence types in Chapter 2, Table 2.1 and Chapter 9, Table 9.2 are shown below.

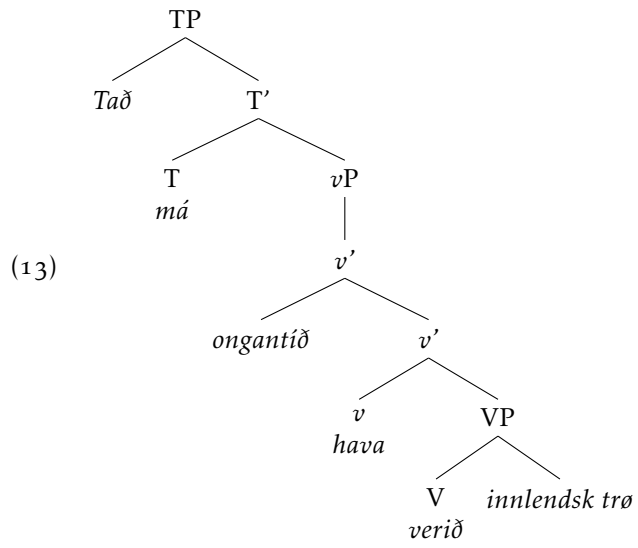
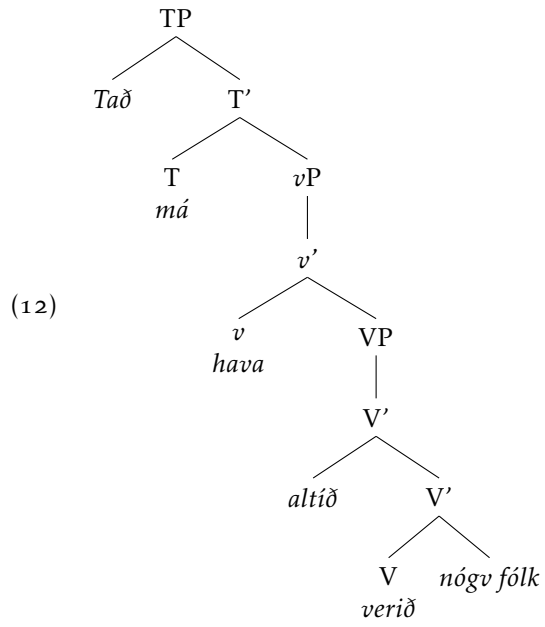


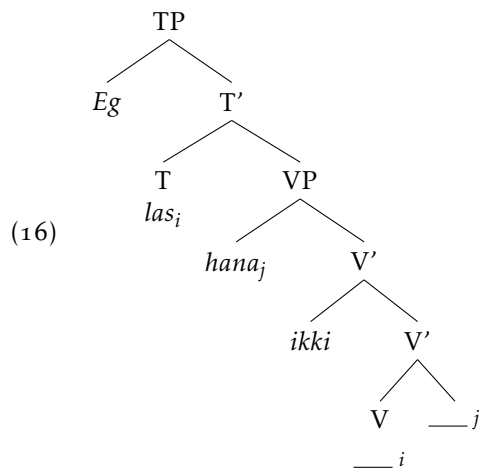
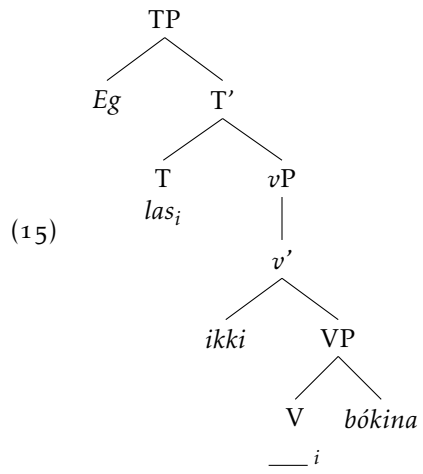
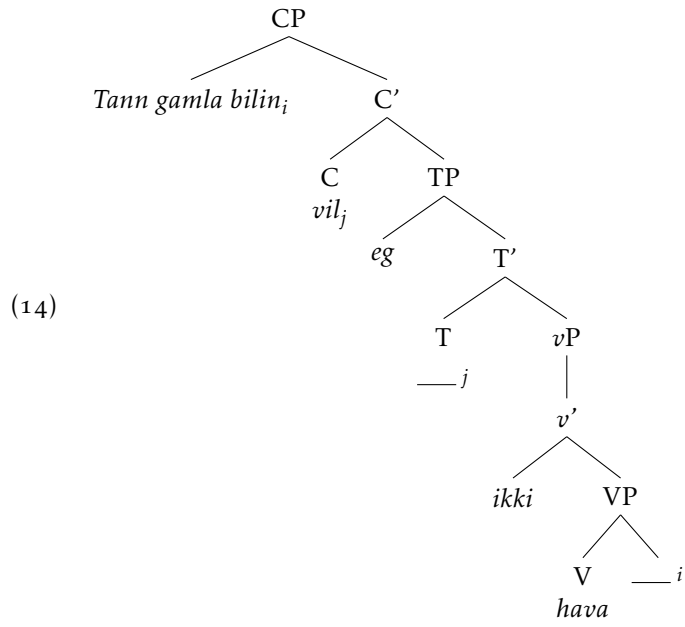


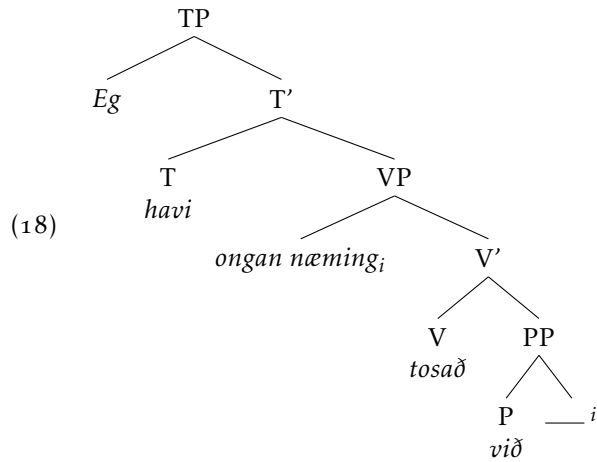
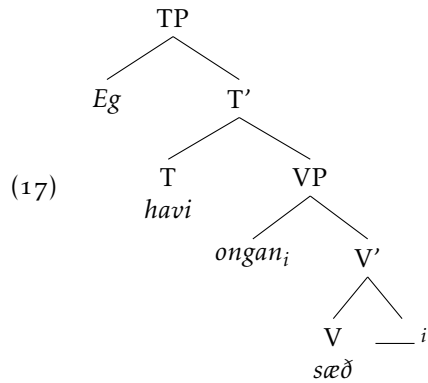












Appendix B: Stimuli sentences for surveys

In the following appendices, the sentences presented for participants for judgement are listed with glosses and translations. Sentences are marked for mean acceptability. The data can be accessed at pur1.stanford.edu/nd533ns7207.

Appendix B1: Faroese passive survey 1, no agent phrase

Table 3 shows the sentences presented to participants in the first Faroese passive survey, excluding filler.

Key to judgements: * = mean acceptability < 2.5, ?? = 2.5–3, ? = 3–4, (?) = 4–4.1, no mark = mean > 4

Table 3: Faroese passive survey 1: sentences

N ^o	μ	σ	FAROESE SENTENCE	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
1	4.5	0.8	<i>Hon varð elskað</i> she.NOM was.SG loved.NOM.F.SG	‘She was loved’
2	4.4	0.7	<i>Hann bleiv sæddur</i> he.NOM was.SG seen.NOM.M.SG	‘He was seen’
3	4.4	0.9	<i>Breyðið varð etið</i> bread-the.NOM was.SG eaten.NOM.N.SG	‘The bread was eaten’

4	4.2	1.1	<i>Hon bleiv gloymd</i> she.NOM was.SG forgotten.NOM.F.SG	‘She was forgotten’
5	4.6	0.9	<i>Veggurin varð málaður</i> wall-the.NOM was.SG painted.NOM.M.SG	‘The wall was painted’
6	4.9	0.3	<i>Hann bleiv sligin</i> he.NOM was.SG hit.NOM.M.SG	‘He was hit’
7	4.5	0.8	<i>Hon varð sparkað</i> she.NOM was.SG kicked.NOM.F.SG	‘She was kicked’
8	4.5	0.7	<i>Hon bleiv eygleidd</i> she.NOM was.SG watched.NOM.F.SG	‘She was watched’
9	4.0	1.0	<i>(?)Bókin varð lisin</i> book-the.NOM was.SG read.NOM.F.SG	‘The book was read’
10	4.5	1.0	<i>Har varð dansað alla náttina</i> EXPL was.SG danced.SUP all.ACC night.ACC	‘There was danced all night’
11	2.5	1.0	<i>??Har bleiv sungið í kirkju</i> EXPL was.SG sung.SUP in church.DAT	‘There was sung in church’
12	3.8	1.3	<i>Þ ?Har varð drukkið í Irish Pub</i> EXPL was.SG drunk.SUP in Irish Pub	‘There was drunk in the Irish Pub’ [well known pub in Tórshavn]
13	3.5	1.2	<i>Þ ?Har bleiv etið í Kaffihúsinum</i> EXPL was.SG eaten.SUP in coffee.house-the.DAT	‘There was eaten at the Kaffihús’ [well known cafe in Tórshavn]
14	3.7	1.3	<i>Þ ?Har varð málað í Tilhaldinum</i> EXPL was.SG painted.SUP in Tilhaldið.DAT	‘There was painted at Tilhaldið’ [well known community building in Tórshavn]
15	1.1	0.3	<i>*Har bleiv sligin</i> EXPL was.SG hit.NOM.M/F.SG	‘There was hit’
16	3.8	1.2	<i>Þ ?Har varð sparkað</i> EXPL was.SG kicked.SUP	‘There was kicked’
17	4.0	1.1	<i>(?)Har bleiv lisið</i> EXPL was.SG read.SUP	‘There was read’

Appendix B2: Faroese survey 2: passives with agent phrase & sentences with *tróta*

Table 4 shows the passive sentences presented in the second Faroese passive survey, excluding filler. The relatively high mean acceptability of the impersonal passive examples with ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ possibly results from respondents interpreting the prepositional phrase as meaning ‘of all types’, i.e. ‘all types (of food/drink) were eaten/drunk’. Within the same survey, sentences involving the verb *tróta* ‘exhaust, run out of’ were also tested; these are shown in Table 5. All of the sentences with *tróta* were judged unacceptable.

Key to judgements: * = mean acceptability < 2.5, ?? = 2.5–3, ? = 3–4, no mark = mean > 4

Table 4: Faroese survey 2: passive sentences

Nº	μ	σ	FAROESE SENTENCE	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
1	4.3	0.7	<i>Hon varð elskað av øllum</i> she.NOM was.SG loved.NOM.F.SG by all.DAT	‘She was loved by all’
2	3.3	1.0	<i>?Hann bleiv sæddur av gentuni</i> he.NOM was.SG seen.NOM.M.SG by girl-the.DAT	‘He was seen by the girl’
3	2.9	1.4	<i>Þ ??Breyðið varð etið av teimum</i> bread-the.NOM was.SG eaten.NOM.N.SG by them.DAT	‘The bread was eaten by them’

4	3.3	1.3	Þ ?Hon bleiv gloymd av honum she.NOM was.SG forgotten.NOM.F.SG by him.DAT	‘She was forgotten by him’
5	3.1	1.2	Þ ?Veggurin varð málaður av teimum wall-the.NOM was.SG painted.NOM.M.SG by them.DAT	‘The wall was painted by them’
6	3.8	1.3	Þ ?Hann bleiv sligin av honum he.NOM was.SG hit.NOM.M.SG by him.DAT	‘He was hit by him’
7	3.2	1.4	Þ ?Hon varð sparkað av henni she.NOM was.SG kicked.NOM.F.SG by her.DAT	‘She was kicked by her’
8	3.7	1.2	Þ ?Hon bleiv eygleidd av honum í ein tíma she.NOM was.SG watched.NOM.F.SG by him.DAT in one hour	‘She was watched by him for an hour’
9	2.4	1.1	*Bókin varð lisin av teimum í ein tíma book-the.NOM was.SG read.NOM.F.SG by them.DAT in one hour	‘The book was read by them for an hour’
10	2.0	0.9	*Har varð dansað av øllum EXPL was.SG danced.SUP by all.DAT	‘There was danced by all’
11	2.3	1.3	*Har bleiv sungið av øllum EXPL was.SG sung.SUP by all.DAT	‘There was sung by all’
12	3.2	1.5	Þ ?Har varð drukkið av øllum EXPL was.SG drunk.SUP by all.DAT	‘There was drunk by all’
13	3.9	1.3	Þ ?Har bleiv etið av øllum EXPL was.SG eaten.SUP by all.DAT	‘There was eaten by all’
14	2.4	1.1	*Har varð málað av øllum EXPL was.SG painted.SUP by all.DAT	‘There was painted by all’
15	1.7	1.2	*Har bleiv sligin av honum EXPL was.SG hit.NOM.M/F.SG by him.DAT	‘There was hit by him’
16	1.6	0.9	*Har varð sparkað av teimum EXPL was.SG kicked.SUP by them.DAT	‘There was kicked by them’
17	2.3	1.0	*Har bleiv lisið av øllum EXPL was.SG read.SUP by all.DAT	‘There was read by all’

Table 5: Faroese survey 2: *tróta* sentences

Nº	μ	σ	SENTENCE	CASE & AGR
1	2.2	1.2	*Eg snakkaði við hann, og hann segði, at honum trutu pengarnir, sum hann hevði fingið I talked to him and he said that him.DAT exhausted.PL money-the.NOM.PL that he had got	DAT V NOM [+agr]
2	2.4	1.2	*Eg snakkaði við hann, og hann segði, at honum treyt pengarnir, sum hann hevði fingið I talked to him and he said that him.DAT exhausted.SG money-the.NOM.PL that he had got	DAT V NOM [-agr]
3	1.8	1.2	*Eg snakkaði við hann, og hann segði, at honum trutu pengarnar, sum hann hevði fingið I talked to him and he said that him.DAT exhausted.PL money-the.ACC.PL that he had got	DAT V ACC [+agr]
4	2.3	1.3	*Eg snakkaði við hann, og hann segði, at honum treyt pengarnar, sum hann hevði fingið I talked to him and he said that him.DAT exhausted.SG money-the.ACC.PL that he had got	DAT V ACC [-agr]
5	2.3	1.0	*Eg snakkaði við hann, og hann segði, at pengarnir trutu honum I talked to him and he said that money-the.NOM.PL exhausted.PL him.DAT	NOM V DAT [+agr]
6	1.5	0.8	*Eg snakkaði við hann, og hann segði, at pengarnir treyt honum I talked to him and he said that money-the.NOM.PL exhausted.SG him.DAT	NOM V DAT [-agr]
7	2.3	1.1	*Eg snakkaði við hann, og hann segði, at pengarnar trutu honum I talked to him and he said that money-the.ACC.PL exhausted.PL him.DAT	ACC V DAT [+agr]
8	1.7	1.0	*Eg snakkaði við hann, og hann segði, at pengarnar treyt honum I talked to him and he said that money-the.ACC.PL exhausted.SG him.DAT	ACC V DAT [-agr]
9	1.8	0.9	*Viðvíkjandi hansara figgarstöðu, tað tykist at honum trutu ognirnar, ið hann hevði fingið regarding his finances it seems that him.DAT exhausted.PL assets-the.{N,A} that he had got	DAT V {N,A} [+agr]
10	1.9	1.1	*Viðvíkjandi hansara figgarstöðu, tað tykist at honum treyt ognirnar, ið hann hevði fingið regarding his finances it seems that him.DAT exhausted.SG assets-the.{N,A} that he had got	DAT V {N,A} [-agr]

11	1.6	1.0	*Viðvíkjandi hansara fíggarstöðu, tað tykist at honum treyt ognin, ið hann hevði fingið regarding his finances it seems that him.DAT exhausted.SG asset-the.NOM that he had got	DAT V NOM [?+agr]
12	1.7	0.9	*Viðvíkjandi hansara fíggarstöðu, tað tykist at honum treyt ognina, ið hann hevði fingið regarding his finances it seems that him.DAT exhausted.SG asset-the.ACC that he had got	DAT V ACC [-agr]
13	1.8	0.9	*Viðvíkjandi hansara fíggarstöðu, tað tykist at ognirnar trutu honum regarding his finances it seems that assets-the.{N,A} exhausted.PL him.DAT	{N,A} V DAT [+agr]
14	1.4	0.8	*Viðvíkjandi hansara fíggarstöðu, tað tykist at ognirnar treyt honum regarding his finances it seems that assets-the.{N,A} exhausted.SG him.DAT	{N,A} V DAT [-agr]
15	1.7	1.0	*Viðvíkjandi hansara fíggarstöðu, tað tykist at ognin treyt honum regarding his finances it seems that asset-the.NOM exhausted.SG him.DAT	NOM V DAT [?+agr]
16	1.3	0.6	*Viðvíkjandi hansara fíggarstöðu, tað tykist at ognina treyt honum regarding his finances it seems that asset-the.ACC exhausted.PL him.DAT	ACC V DAT [-agr]

Appendix B3: Faroese ‘give’ passive surveys

Table 6 shows the sentences presented in the Faroese ‘give’ passive surveys, excluding filler and the active forms with ‘mann’. In the Agreement column, agreement patterns in curly brackets are possibilities that exist due to ambiguous morphology, namely that the *-ar* participial suffix is the same for ACC.M.PL, NOM.F.PL and ACC.F.PL; there is also syncretism in the neuter, which has the same nominative and accusative nominal and participial forms in both singular and plural. When there is ambiguity as to which argument is the target of agreement, both possibilities are presented in the Agreement column; a question mark in the Agreement column indicates a mismatch in case or gender. As can be seen, none of these sentences were judged acceptable, although sentences 11 and 15 had mean acceptability between 3–4.

Key to abbreviations: Aux = auxiliary, X = expletive, Go = goal, Th = theme

Key to judgements: * = mean acceptability < 2.5, ?? = 2.5–3, ? = 3–4, no mark = mean > 4

Table 6: Faroese ‘give’ passive surveys: sentences

Nº	μ	σ	SENTENCE	WORD ORDER	THEME CASE	AGREEMENT
1	2.0	1.2	* <i>Monnunum varð givið tveir nýggir bátar</i> men-the.DAT.M.PL was.3SG given.SUP two.{N,A}.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL The men were given two new boats	Go-V-Th	NOM	Default/3sg
2	1.9	1.2	* <i>Monnunum varð givið tveir nýggjar bátar</i> men-the.DAT.M.PL was.3SG given.SUP two.{N,A}.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL The men were given two new boats	Go-V-Th	ACC	Default/3sg
3	2.1	1.1	* <i>Konunum vórðu givnir tveir nýggir bátar</i> women-the.DAT.F.PL were.3PL given.NOM.M.PL two.{N,A}.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL The women were given two new boats	Go-V-Th	NOM	Th: NOM.M.PL
4	1.8	1.0	* <i>Konunum vórðu givnar tveir nýggjar bátar</i> women-the.DAT.F.PL were.3PL given.{N,A}.F.PL,ACC.M.PL two.{N,A}.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL The women were given two new boats	Go-V-Th	ACC	Th: ACC.M.PL Go: {N,A}.F.PL
5	1.8	1.0	* <i>Konunum vórðu givnar tveir nýggir bátar</i> women-the.DAT.F.PL were.3PL given.{N,A}.F.PL,ACC.M.PL two.{N,A}.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL The women were given two new boats	Go-V-Th	NOM	Go: {N,A}.F.PL Th: NOM.?F.PL
6	1.5	0.9	* <i>Dreingjunum vórðu givnir tvey dýr klaver</i> boys-the.DAT.M.PL were.3PL given.NOM.M.PL two.{N,A}.N dear.{N,A}.N.PL pianos.{N,A}.N.PL The boys were given two expensive pianos	Go-V-Th	{N,A}	Go: ?NOM.M.PL
7	2.4	1.2	* <i>Dreingjunum vórðu givin tvey dýr klaver</i> boys-the.DAT.M.PL were.3PL given.{N,A}.N.PL two.{N,A}.N dear.{N,A}.N.PL pianos.{N,A}.N.PL The boys were given two expensive pianos	Go-V-Th	{N,A}	Th: {N,A}.N.PL
8	1.5	0.7	* <i>Dreingjunum varð givin tvey dýr klaver</i> boys-the.DAT.M.PL was.3SG given.{N,A}.N.PL two.{N,A}.N dear.{N,A}.N.PL pianos.{N,A}.N.PL The boys were given two expensive pianos	Go-V-Th	{N,A}	Default/3sg + Th: {N,A}.N.PL
9	1.6	1.0	* <i>Tveir nýggir bátar varð givið monnunum</i> two.{N,A}.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL was.3SG given.SUP men-the.DAT.M.PL Two new boats were given (to) the men	Th-V-Go	NOM	Default/3sg
10	1.4	0.8	* <i>Tveir nýggjar bátar varð givið monnunum</i> two.{N,A}.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL was.3SG given.SUP men-the.DAT.M.PL Two new boats were given (to) the men	Th-V-Go	ACC	Default/3sg
11	3.3	1.2	Þ <i>?Tveir nýggir bátar vórðu givnir konunum</i> two.{N,A}.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL were.3PL given.NOM.M.PL women-the.DAT.F.PL Two new boats were given (to) the women	Th-V-Go	NOM	Th: NOM.M.PL
12	2.1	1.3	* <i>Tveir nýggir bátar vórðu givnar konunum</i> two.{N,A}.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL were.3PL given.{N,A}.F.PL,ACC.M.PL women-the.DAT.F.PL Two new boats were given (to) the women	Th-V-Go	NOM	Go: {N,A}.F.PL Th: NOM.?F.PL
13	1.9	1.3	* <i>Tveir nýggjar bátar vórðu givnar konunum</i> two.{N,A}.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL were.3PL given.{N,A}.F.PL,ACC.M.PL women-the.DAT.F.PL	Th-V-Go	ACC	Th: ACC.M.PL Go: {N,A}.F.PL

			Two new boats were given (to) the women			
14	1.5	0.8	*Tvey dýr klaver vórðu gívnir dreingjunum two.{N,A}.N dear.{N,A}.N.PL pianos.{N,A}.N.PL were.3PL given.NOM.M.PL boys-the.DAT.M.PL Two expensive pianos were given (to) the boys	Th-V-Go	{N,A}	Go: ?NOM.M.PL
15	3.4	1.3	Þ ?Tvey dýr klaver vórðu gívnir dreingjunum two.{N,A}.N dear.{N,A}.N.PL pianos.{N,A}.N.PL were.3PL given.{N,A}.N.PL boys-the.DAT.M.PL Two expensive pianos were given (to) the boys	Th-V-Go	{N,A}	Th: {N,A}.N.PL
16	1.4	0.7	*Tvey dýr klaver varð gívnir dreingjunum two.{N,A}.N dear.{N,A}.N.PL pianos.{N,A}.N.PL was.3SG given.{N,A}.N.PL boys-the.DAT.M.PL Two expensive pianos were given (to) the boys	Th-V-Go	{N,A}	Default/3SG + Th: {N,A}.N.PL
17	1.5	0.8	*Tveir nýggir bátar varð monnunum gívið two.{N,A}.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL was.3SG men- the.DAT.M.PL given.SUP Two new boats were (to) the men given	Th-Aux-Go-V	NOM	Default/3SG
18	1.3	0.6	*Tveir nýggjar bátar varð monnunum gívið two.{N,A}.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL was.3SG men- the.DAT.M.PL given.SUP Two new boats were (to) the men given	Th-Aux-Go-V	ACC	Default/3SG
19	1.9	1.1	*Tveir nýggir bátar vórðu konunum gívnir two.{N,A}.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL were.3PL women- the.DAT.F.PL given.NOM.M.PL Two new boats were (to) the women given	Th-Aux-Go-V	NOM	Th: NOM.M.PL
20	1.5	0.9	*Tveir nýggir bátar vórðu konunum gívnar two.{N,A}.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL were.3PL women- the.DAT.F.PL given.{N,A}.F.PL,ACC.M.PL Two new boats were (to) the women given	Th-Aux-Go-V	NOM	Go: {N,A}.F.PL Th: NOM.?F.PL
21	1.3	0.5	*Tveir nýggjar bátar vórðu konunum gívnar two.{N,A}.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL were.3PL women- the.DAT.F.PL given.{N,A}.F.PL,ACC.M.PL Two new boats were (to) the women given	Th-Aux-Go-V	ACC	Th: ACC.M.PL Go: {N,A}.F.PL
22	1.4	0.6	*Tvey dýr klaver vórðu dreingjunum gívnir two.{N,A}.N dear.{N,A}.N.PL pianos.{N,A}.N.PL were.3PL boys- the.DAT.M.PL given.NOM.M.PL Two expensive pianos were (to) the boys given	Th-Aux-Go-V	{N,A}	Go: ?NOM.M.PL
23	2.0	0.9	*Tvey dýr klaver vórðu dreingjunum gívnir two.{N,A}.N dear.{N,A}.N.PL pianos.{N,A}.N.PL were.3PL boys- the.DAT.M.PL given.{N,A}.N.PL Two expensive pianos were (to) the boys given	Th-Aux-Go-V	{N,A}	Th: {N,A}.N.PL
24	1.2	0.5	*Tvey dýr klaver varð dreingjunum gívnir two.{N,A}.N dear.{N,A}.N.PL pianos.{N,A}.N.PL was.3SG boys- the.DAT.M.PL given.{N,A}.N.PL Two expensive pianos were (to) the boys given	Th-Aux-Go-V	{N,A}	Default/3SG + Th: {N,A}.N.PL
25	2.0	1.0	*Tað varð gívið monnunum tveir nýggir bátar EXPL was.3SG given.SUP men-the.DAT.M.PL two.{N,A}.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL It was given (to) the men two new boats	X-V-Go-Th	NOM	Default/3SG
26	2.3	1.2	*Tað varð gívið monnunum tveir nýggjar bátar EXPL was.3SG given.SUP men-the.DAT.M.PL two.{N,A}.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL It was given (to) the men two new boats	X-V-Go-Th	ACC	Default/3SG
27	2.2	1.1	*Tað vórðu gívnir konunum tveir nýggir bátar	X-V-Go-Th	NOM	Th: NOM.M.PL

		EXPL were.3PL given.NOM.M.PL women-the.DAT.F.PL two.{N,A}.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL It was given (to) the women two new boats			
28	1.8 0.9	*Tað vórðu gívnar konunum tveir nýggjar bátar EXPL were.3PL given.{N,A}.F.PL,ACC.M.PL women-the.DAT.F.PL two.{N,A}.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL It was given (to) the women two new boats	X-V-Go-Th	NOM	Go: {?N,?A}.F.PL Th: NOM.?F.PL
29	1.7 0.8	*Tað vórðu gívnar konunum tveir nýggjar bátar EXPL were.3PL given.{N,A}.F.PL,ACC.M.PL women-the.DAT.F.PL two.{N,A}.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL It was given (to) the women two new boats	X-V-Go-Th	ACC	Go: {?N,?A}.F.PL Th: NOM.?F.PL
30	1.7 1.0	*Tað vórðu gívnir dreingjunum tvey dýr klaver EXPL were.3PL given.NOM.M.PL boys-the.DAT.M.PL two.{N,A}.N dear.{N,A}.N.PL pianos.{N,A}.N.PL It was given (to) the boys two expensive pianos	X-V-Go-Th	{N,A}	Go: ?NOM.M.PL
31	2.6 1.2	Þ ??Tað vórðu gívin dreingjunum tvey dýr klaver EXPL were.3PL given.{N,A}.N.PL boys-the.DAT.M.PL two.{N,A}.N dear.{N,A}.N.PL pianos.{N,A}.N.PL It was given (to) the boys two expensive pianos	X-V-Go-Th	{N,A}	Th: {N,A}.N.PL
32	1.6 0.8	*Tað varð gívin dreingjunum tvey dýr klaver EXPL was.3SG given.{N,A}.N.PL boys-the.DAT.M.PL two.{N,A}.N dear.{N,A}.N.PL pianos.{N,A}.N.PL It was given (to) the boys two expensive pianos	X-V-Go-Th	{N,A}	Default/3sg + Th: {N,A}.N.PL

Appendix B4: Icelandic ‘give’ passive & quirky case survey

Icelandic ‘give’ passive

Table 7 shows the sentences presented in the Icelandic ‘give’ passive survey. In the same way as for the Faroese ‘give’ passive survey, in the Agreement column a question mark indicates a mismatch in case or number. I have also notated dative intervention, i.e. when a dative argument intervenes between the participle and the target of agreement, with the phrase ‘across DAT’ in the Agreement column.

Key to abbreviations: Aux = auxiliary, X = expletive, Go = goal, Th = theme

Key to judgements: * = mean acceptability < 2.5, ?? = 2.5–3, ? = 3–4, no mark = mean > 4

Table 7: Icelandic ‘give’ passive survey: sentences

Nº	μ	σ	SENTENCE	WORD ORDER	THEME CASE	AGREEMENT
1	4.7	1.0	Mönnunum voru gefnir tveir nýir bátar men-the.DAT.M.PL were.3PL given.NOM.M.PL two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL The men were given two new boats	Goal-V-Theme	NOM	Th: NOM.M.PL
2	1.0	0.0	*Mönnunum voru gefnir tvo nýja báta men-the.DAT.M.PL were.3PL given.NOM.M.PL two.ACC.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL The men were given two new boats	Goal-V-Theme	ACC	Go: ?NOM.M.PL
3	1.0	0.0	*Mönnunum voru gefna tvo nýja báta men-the.DAT.M.PL were.3PL given.ACC.M.PL two.ACC.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL	Goal-V-Theme	ACC	Th: ACC.M.PL

			The men were given two new boats			
4	1.4	1.1	* <i>Mönnunum var gefið tveir nýir bátar</i> men-the.DAT.M.PL was.3SG given.SUP two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL The men were given two new boats	Goal-V-Theme	NOM	Default/3SG
5	1.2	0.6	* <i>Mönnunum voru gefnum tveir nýir bátar</i> men-the.DAT.M.PL were.3PL given.DAT.M.PL two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL The men were given two new boats	Goal-V-Theme	NOM	Go: DAT.M.PL
6	4.3	1.0	<i>Tveir nýir bátar voru gefnir mönnunum</i> two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL were.3PL given.NOM.M.PL men-the.DAT.M.PL Two new boats were given (to) the men	Theme-V-Goal	NOM	Th: NOM.M.PL
7	1.0	0.0	* <i>Tvo nýja báta voru gefnir mönnunum</i> two.ACC.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL were.3PL given.NOM.M.PL men-the.DAT.M.PL Two new boats were given (to) the men	Theme-V-Goal	ACC	Go: ?NOM.M.PL
8	1.1	0.3	* <i>Tvo nýja báta voru gefna mönnunum</i> two.ACC.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL were.3PL given.ACC.M.PL men-the.DAT.M.PL Two new boats were given (to) the men	Theme-V-Goal	ACC	Th: ACC.M.PL
9	1.1	0.4	* <i>Tveir nýir bátar var gefið mönnunum</i> two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL was.3SG given.SUP men-the.DAT.M.PL Two new boats were given (to) the men	Theme-V-Goal	NOM	Default/3SG
10	1.3	0.8	* <i>Tveir nýir bátar voru gefnum mönnunum</i> two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL were.3PL given.DAT.M.PL men-the.DAT.M.PL Two new boats were given (to) the men	Theme-V-Goal	NOM	Go: DAT.M.PL
11	3.3	1.5	Þ ? <i>Tveir nýir bátar voru mönnunum gefnir</i> two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL were.3PL men- the.DAT.M.PL given.NOM.M.PL Two new boats were (to) the men given	Th-Aux-Go-V	NOM	Th: NOM.M.PL ACROSS DAT
12	1.1	0.4	* <i>Tvo nýja báta voru mönnunum gefnir</i> two.ACC.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL were.3PL men- the.DAT.M.PL given.NOM.M.PL Two new boats were (to) the men given	Th-Aux-Go-V	ACC	Go: ?NOM.M.PL
13	1.0	0.0	* <i>Tvo nýja báta voru mönnunum gefna</i> two.ACC.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL were.3PL men- the.DAT.M.PL given.ACC.M.PL Two new boats were (to) the men given	Th-Aux-Go-V	ACC	Th: ACC.M.PL ACROSS DAT
14	1.4	1.1	* <i>Tveir nýir bátar var mönnunum gefið</i> two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL was.3SG men- the.DAT.M.PL given.SUP Two new boats were (to) the men given	Th-Aux-Go-V	NOM	Default/3SG ACROSS DAT
15	1.1	0.3	* <i>Tveir nýir bátar voru mönnunum gefnum</i> two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL were.3PL men- the.DAT.M.PL given.DAT.M.PL Two new boats were (to) the men given	Th-Aux-Go-V	NOM	Go: DAT.M.PL
16	2.1	1.4	* <i>Það voru tveir nýir bátar mönnunum gefnir</i> EXPL were.3PL two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL men- the.DAT.M.PL given.nom.m.pl	X-Th-Go-V	NOM	Th: NOM.M.PL ACROSS DAT

		It was two new boats (to) the men given			
17	1.1 0.3	* <i>Það voru tvo nýja báta mönnunum gefnir</i> EXPL were.3PL two.ACC.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL men-the.DAT.M.PL given.nom.m.pl It was two new boats (to) the men given	X-Th-Go-V	ACC	Go: ?NOM.M.PL
18	1.0 0.0	* <i>Það voru tvo nýja báta mönnunum gefna</i> EXPL were.3PL two.ACC.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL men-the.DAT.M.PL given.acc.m.pl It was two new boats (to) the men given	X-Th-Go-V	ACC	Th: ACC.M.PL across DAT
19	1.1 0.3	* <i>Það var tveir nýir bátar mönnunum gefið</i> EXPL was.3SG two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL men-the.DAT.M.PL given.sup It was two new boats (to) the men given	X-Th-Go-V	NOM	Default/3sg across DAT
20	1.3 0.8	* <i>Það voru tveir nýir bátar mönnunum gefnum</i> EXPL were.3PL two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL men-the.DAT.M.PL given.dat.m.pl It was two new boats (to) the men given	X-Th-Go-V	NOM	Go: DAT.M.PL
21	1.5 1.1	* <i>Það voru mönnunum tveir nýir bátar gefnir</i> EXPL were.3PL men-the.DAT.M.PL two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL given.nom.m.pl It was (to) the men two new boats given	X-Go-Th-V	NOM	Th: NOM.M.PL
22	1.1 0.3	* <i>Það voru mönnunum tvo nýja báta gefnir</i> EXPL were.3PL men-the.DAT.M.PL two.ACC.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL given.nom.m.pl It was (to) the men two new boats given	X-Go-Th-V	ACC	Go: ?NOM.M.PL
23	1.0 0.0	* <i>Það voru mönnunum tvo nýja báta gefna</i> EXPL were.3PL men-the.DAT.M.PL two.ACC.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL given.acc.m.pl It was (to) the men two new boats given	X-Go-Th-V	ACC	Th: ACC.M.PL
24	1.0 0.0	* <i>Það var mönnunum tveir nýir bátar gefið</i> EXPL was.3SG men-the.DAT.M.PL two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL given.sup It was (to) the men two new boats given	X-Go-Th-V	NOM	Default/3sg
25	1.0 0.0	* <i>Það voru mönnunum tveir nýir bátar gefnum</i> EXPL were.3PL men-the.DAT.M.PL two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL given.dat.m.pl It was (to) the men two new boats given	X-Go-Th-V	NOM	Go: DAT.M.PL
26	2.1 1.4	* <i>Það voru gefnir mönnunum tveir nýir bátar</i> EXPL were.3PL given.nom.m.pl men-the.DAT.M.PL two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL It was given (to) the men two new boats	X-V-Go-Th	NOM	Th: NOM.M.PL across DAT
27	1.1 0.3	* <i>Það voru gefnir mönnunum tvo nýja báta</i> EXPL were.3PL given.nom.m.pl men-the.DAT.M.PL two.ACC.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL It was given (to) the men two new boats	X-V-Go-Th	ACC	Go: ?NOM.M.PL
28	1.0 0.0	* <i>Það voru gefna mönnunum tvo nýja báta</i> EXPL were.3PL given.acc.m.pl men-the.DAT.M.PL two.ACC.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL It was given (to) the men two new boats	X-V-Go-Th	ACC	Th: ACC.M.PL across DAT
29	1.1 0.4	* <i>Það var gefið mönnunum tveir nýir bátar</i> EXPL was.3SG given.sup men-the.DAT.M.PL two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL	X-V-Go-Th	NOM	Default/3sg across DAT

		It was given (to) the men two new boats			
30	1.0 0.0	* <i>Það voru gefnum mönnunum tveir nýir bátar</i> EXPL were.3PL given.dat.m.pl men-the.DAT.M.PL two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL It was given (to) the men two new boats	X-V-Go-Th	NOM	Go: DAT.M.PL
31	3.2 1.6	Þ ? <i>Það voru tveir nýir bátar gefnir mönnunum</i> EXPL were.3PL two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL given.nom.m.pl men-the.DAT.M.PL It was two new boats given (to) the men	X-Th-V-Go	NOM	Th: NOM.M.PL
32	1.0 0.0	* <i>Það voru tvo nýja báta gefnir mönnunum</i> EXPL were.3PL two.ACC.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL given.nom.m.pl men-the.DAT.M.PL It was two new boats given (to) the men	X-Th-V-Go	ACC	Go: ?NOM.M.PL
33	1.1 0.5	* <i>Það voru tvo nýja báta gefna mönnunum</i> EXPL were.3PL two.ACC.M new.ACC.M.PL boats.ACC.M.PL given.acc.m.pl men-the.DAT.M.PL It was two new boats given (to) the men	X-Th-V-Go	ACC	Th: ACC.M.PL
34	1.0 0.0	* <i>Það var tveir nýir bátar gefið mönnunum</i> EXPL was.3PL two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL given.sup men-the.DAT.M.PL It was two new boats given (to) the men	X-Th-V-Go	NOM	Default/3sg
35	1.1 0.4	* <i>Það voru tveir nýir bátar gefnum mönnunum</i> EXPL were.3PL two.NOM.M new.NOM.M.PL boats.NOM.M.PL given.dat.m.pl men-the.DAT.M.PL It was two new boats given (to) the men	X-Th-V-Go	NOM	Go: DAT.M.PL

Icelandic dative-subject verbs

The 54 sentences shown in Table 8 involving dative-subject predicates were tested in the same Icelandic survey as the sentences in Table 7.

Key to judgements: * = mean acceptability < 2.5, ?? = 2.5–3, ? = 3–4, (?) = 4–4.1, no mark = mean > 4.1

Table 8: Icelandic quirky case verbs survey

Nº	μ	σ	SENTENCE
1	2.5	1.4	Þ ?? <i>Mér líkaði ekki þessir hestar</i> Me.DAT.SG liked.SG not these.NOM.M.PL horses.NOM.M.PL
2	2.2	1.3	* <i>Mér líkaði þessir hestar ekki</i> Me.DAT.SG liked.SG these.NOM.M.PL horses.NOM.M.PL not
3	4.4	1.2	<i>Mér líkuðu ekki þessir hestar</i> Me.DAT.SG liked.PL not these.NOM.M.PL horses.NOM.M.PL
4	4.1	1.3	(?) <i>Mér líkuðu þessir hestar ekki</i> Me.DAT.SG liked.PL these.NOM.M.PL horses.NOM.M.PL not
5	1.5	0.7	* <i>Mér líkaði ekki þeir</i> Me.DAT.SG liked.SG not they.NOM.M.PL
6	2.7	1.5	Þ ?? <i>Mér líkaði þeir ekki</i> Me.DAT.SG liked.SG they.NOM.M.PL not
7	2.3	1.2	* <i>Mér líkuðu ekki þeir</i> Me.DAT.SG liked.PL not they.NOM.M.PL
8	4.1	1.4	<i>Mér líkuðu þeir ekki</i>

			Me.DAT.SG liked.PL they.NOM.M.PL not
9	1.2	0.6	* <i>Það líkaði mér ekki þessir hestar</i> EXPL liked.SG me.DAT.SG not these.NOM.M.PL horses.NOM.M.PL
10	1.2	0.6	* <i>Það líkuðu mér ekki þessir hestar</i> EXPL liked.PL me.DAT.SG not these.NOM.M.PL horses.NOM.M.PL
11	1.1	0.3	* <i>Það líkaði mér ekki þeir</i> EXPL liked.SG me.DAT.SG not they.NOM.M.PL
12	1.1	0.3	* <i>Það líkaði mér þeir ekki</i> EXPL liked.SG me.DAT.SG they.NOM.M.PL not
13	1.1	0.3	* <i>Það líkuðu mér ekki þeir</i> EXPL liked.PL me.DAT.SG not they.NOM.M.PL
14	1.1	0.3	* <i>Það líkuðu mér þeir ekki</i> EXPL liked.PL me.DAT.SG they.NOM.M.PL not
15	1.8	1.6	* <i>Það hafa bara einum nemanda líkað þessar hugmyndir</i> EXPL have.3PL only one.DAT.M.SG student.DAT.M.SG liked these.NOM.F.PL ideas.NOM.F.PL
16	4.3	1.4	<i>Það hefur bara einum nemanda líkað þessar hugmyndir</i> EXPL has.3SG only one.DAT.M.SG student.DAT.M.SG liked these.NOM.F.PL ideas.NOM.F.PL
17	4.2	1.5	<i>Honum hafa alltaf líkað þessar hugmyndir</i> Him.DAT.M.SG have.3PL always liked these.NOM.F.PL ideas.NOM.F.PL
18	3.5	1.5	Þ ? <i>Honum hefur alltaf líkað þessar hugmyndir</i> Him.DAT.M.SG has.3SG always liked these.NOM.F.PL ideas.NOM.F.PL
19	1.4	0.8	* <i>Það líka honum þessar hugmyndir</i> EXPL like.3PL him.DAT.M.SG these.NOM.F.PL ideas.NOM.F.PL
20	1.3	0.6	* <i>Það líkar honum þessar hugmyndir</i> EXPL likes.3SG him.DAT.M.SG these.NOM.F.PL ideas.NOM.F.PL
21	2.2	1.3	<i>Áður en ég heyrdi Siggu syngja...</i> Before that I.NOM.SG heard.SG Sigga.ACC.F.SG sing.INF ...* <i>hafði mér enginn söngvari líkað</i> had.SG me.DAT.SG no.NOM.M.SG singer.NOM.M.SG liked
22	1.4	0.8	...* <i>hafði mér líkað enginn söngvari</i> had.SG me.DAT.SG liked no.NOM.M.SG singer.NOM.M.SG
23	1.6	0.9	...* <i>hafði mér líkað engin lög</i> had.SG me.DAT.SG liked no.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL
24	2.3	1.3	...* <i>hafði mér engin lög líkað</i> had.SG me.DAT.SG no.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL liked
25	1.5	0.9	...* <i>höfðu mér líkað engin lög</i> had.PL me.DAT.SG liked no.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL
26	2.9	1.3	Þ ...?? <i>höfðu mér engin lög líkað</i> had.PL me.DAT.SG no.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL liked
27	2.3	1.2	...* <i>hafði mér aldrei neinn söngvari líkað</i> had.SG me.DAT.SG never any.NOM.M.SG singer.NOM.M.SG liked
28	4.4	1.1	... <i>hafði mér aldrei líkað neinn söngvari</i> had.SG me.DAT.SG never liked any.NOM.M.SG singer.NOM.M.SG
29	1.2	0.6	...* <i>hafði mér neinn söngvari aldrei líkað</i> had.SG me.DAT.SG any.NOM.M.SG singer.NOM.M.SG never liked
30	1.4	1.1	...* <i>hafði mér líkað aldrei neinn söngvari</i> had.SG me.DAT.SG liked never any.NOM.M.SG singer.NOM.M.SG
31	2.0	1.2	...* <i>hafði mér aldrei nein lög líkað</i> had.SG me.DAT.SG never any.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL liked
32	3.5	1.3	Þ ...? <i>hafði mér aldrei líkað nein lög</i> had.SG me.DAT.SG never liked any.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL
33	1.1	0.4	...* <i>hafði mér nein lög aldrei líkað</i>

34	1.3	0.8	had.SG me.DAT.SG any.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL never liked ...*hafði mér líkað aldrei nein lög had.SG me.DAT.SG liked never any.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL
35	2.1	1.1	...*höfðu mér aldrei nein lög líkað had.PL me.DAT.SG never any.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL liked
36	4.2	1.2	...höfðu mér aldrei líkað nein lög had.PL me.DAT.SG never liked any.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL
37	1.2	0.4	...*höfðu mér nein lög aldrei líkað had.PL me.DAT.SG any.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL never liked
38	1.8	1.3	...*höfðu mér líkað aldrei nein lög had.PL me.DAT.SG liked never any.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL
39	1.9	1.1	Áður en þeir heyrðu Siggu syngja... Before that they.NOM.M.PL heard.PL Sigga.ACC.F.SG sing.INF ...*hafði þeim eflaust aldrei nein lög líkað had.SG them.DAT.M.PL doubtless never any.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL liked
40	3.3	1.3	Þ ...?hafði þeim eflaust aldrei líkað nein lög had.SG them.DAT.M.PL doubtless never liked any.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL
41	1.1	0.5	...*hafði þeim eflaust nein lög aldrei líkað had.SG them.DAT.M.PL doubtless any.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL never liked
42	1.4	0.9	...*hafði þeim eflaust líkað aldrei nein lög had.SG them.DAT.M.PL doubtless liked never any.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL
43	2.1	1.3	...*höfðu þeim eflaust aldrei nein lög líkað had.PL them.DAT.M.PL doubtless never any.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL liked
44	3.2	1.7	Þ ...?höfðu þeim eflaust aldrei líkað nein lög had.PL them.DAT.M.PL doubtless never liked any.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL
45	1.1	0.3	...*höfðu þeim eflaust nein lög aldrei líkað had.PL them.DAT.M.PL doubtless any.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL never liked
46	1.0	0.0	...*höfðu þeim eflaust líkað aldrei nein lög had.PL them.DAT.M.PL doubtless liked never any.NOM.N.PL songs.NOM.N.PL
47	1.2	0.4	Vegna þess að þær hafa aldrei horft á fótboltaleik áður... Because they.NOM.F.PL have.3PL never watched on football.match.ACC.M.SG before ...*gæti þeim hafa aldrei neinir leikmenn líkað must.SG them.DAT.F.PL have.INF never any.NOM.M.PL players.NOM.M.PL liked
48	1.5	0.9	...*gæti þeim hafa aldrei líkað neinir leikmenn must.SG them.DAT.F.PL have.INF never liked any.NOM.M.PL players.NOM.M.PL
49	1.5	0.9	...*gæti þeim aldrei hafa neinir leikmenn líkað must.SG them.DAT.F.PL never have.INF any.NOM.M.PL players.NOM.M.PL liked
50	3.5	1.7	Þ ...?gæti þeim aldrei hafa líkað neinir leikmenn must.SG them.DAT.F.PL never have.INF liked any.NOM.M.PL players.NOM.M.PL
51	1.3	0.8	...*gætu þeim hafa aldrei neinir leikmenn líkað must.PL them.DAT.F.PL have.INF never any.NOM.M.PL players.NOM.M.PL liked
52	1.8	1.3	...*gætu þeim hafa aldrei líkað neinir leikmenn must.PL them.DAT.F.PL have.INF never liked any.NOM.M.PL players.NOM.M.PL
53	1.4	0.7	...*gætu þeim aldrei hafa neinir leikmenn líkað must.PL them.DAT.F.PL never have.INF any.NOM.M.PL players.NOM.M.PL liked
54	3.3	1.6	Þ ...?gætu þeim aldrei hafa líkað neinir leikmenn must.PL them.DAT.F.PL never have.INF liked any.NOM.M.PL players.NOM.M.PL

Appendix B5: Faroese ditransitive passive survey, verbs other than ‘give’

Table 9 shows the sentences presented in the survey on Faroese ditransitive passives with verbs other than ‘give’. Unfortunately, the incorrect case inflection of *pensiónir* ‘pensions’ was tested in the examples with *veita* ‘bestow, grant’: for intended NOM.PL *-ir* the form GEN.SG *-ar* was used. Other confounds exist with *veita*, since the verb itself is infrequent and one speaker commented that the word *eftirløn* ‘pension’ was more acceptable than the Danish loanword *pensión*.

Key to judgements: * = mean acceptability < 2.5, ?? = 2.5–3, ? = 3–4, no mark = mean > 4

Table 9: Faroese ditransitive passive survey, verbs other than ‘give’: sentences

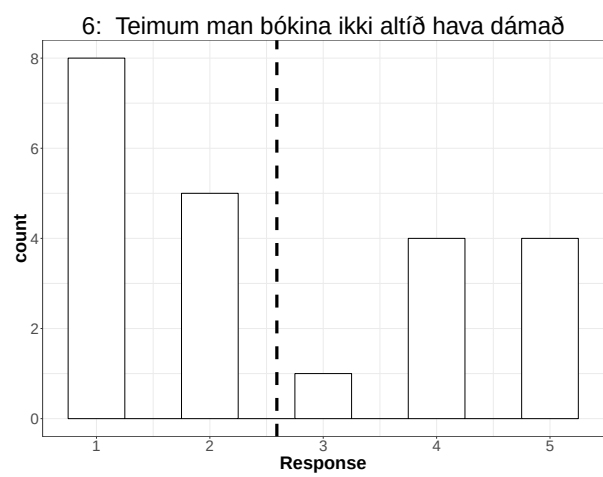
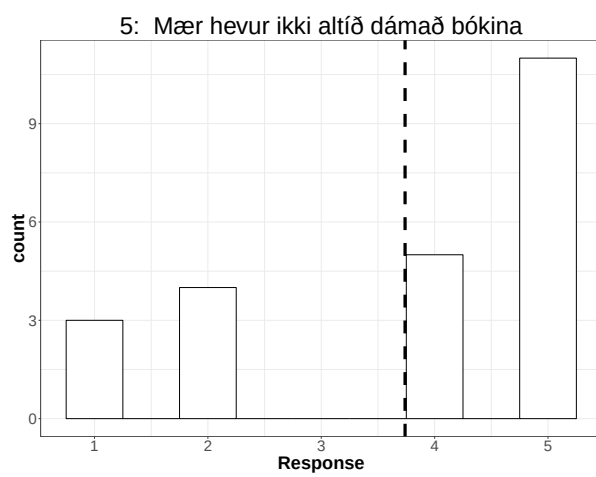
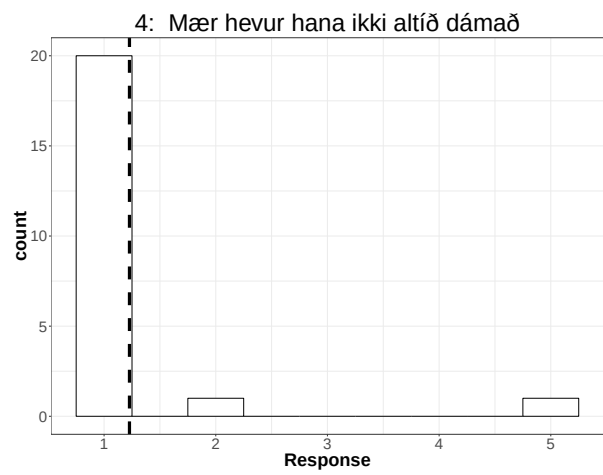
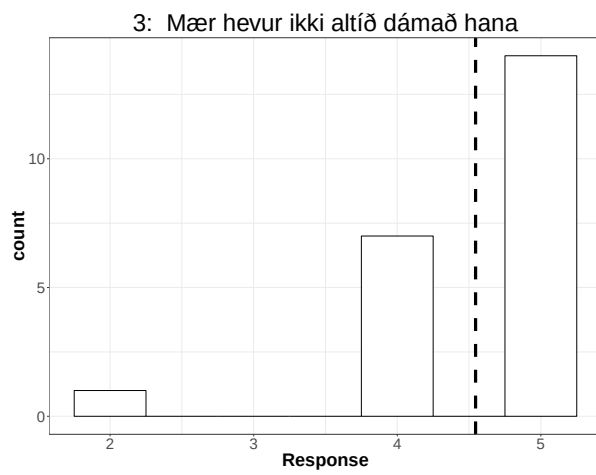
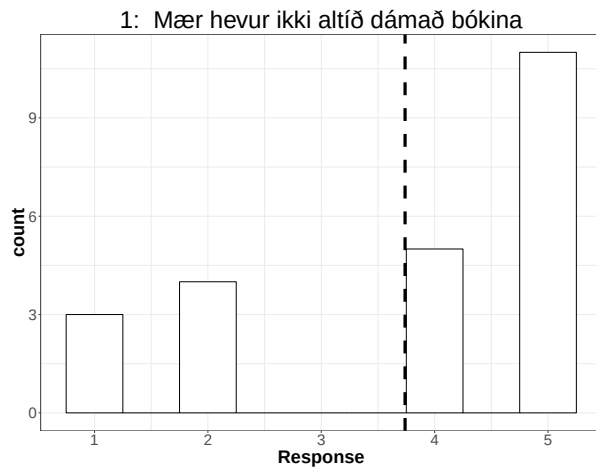
Nº	μ	σ	SENTENCE	WORD ORDER
1	4.5	0.9	<i>Absalon trýr, at teir seldu sjómonnunum bátin</i> Absalon believes that they.NOM sold seamen-the.DAT boat-the.ACC ‘Absalon believes that they sold the seamen the boat’	Agent-Goal-Theme
2	2.2	1.4	<i>*Ása trýr, at pensiónar vórðu veittar monnunum</i> Ása believes that pensions.*GEN.SG were.PL bestowed.NOM.F.PL men-the.DAT ‘Ása believes that pensions were granted to the men’	Theme-Goal
3	4.9	0.3	<i>Bogi segði, at báturin varð seldur í gjár</i> Bogi said that boat-the.NOM was.SG sold.NOM.M.SG yesterday ‘Bogi said that the boat was sold yesterday’	Theme only
4	1.3	0.6	<i>*Edvard trúði, at sjómonnunum varð seldur báturin</i> Edward believed that seamen-the.DAT was.SG sold.NOM.M.SG boat-the.NOM ‘Edward believed that the seamen were sold the boat’	Goal-Theme
5	3.6	1.4	<i>Þ ?Eg haldi, at pengar vórðu lovaðir gentunum</i> I think that money.NOM were.PL promised.NOM.M.PL girls-the.DAT ‘I think that the money was promised to the girls’	Theme-Goal
6	3.8	1.0	<i>?Eg hoyrði, at Bjarni flutti pengarnar yvir til bankan</i> I heard that Bjarni.NOM moved.SG money-the.ACC over to bank-the.ACC ‘I heard that Bjarni transferred the money to the bank’	Agent-Theme-Goal
7	4.4	1.1	<i>Eg sá, at Jógvan handaði konuni pennin</i> I saw that John.NOM handed.SG woman-the.DAT pen-the.ACC ‘I saw that John handed the woman the pen’	Agent-Goal-Theme
8	3.2	1.1	<i>Þ ?Eg segði teimum, at vit buðu monnunum bilettir</i> I said them that we.NOM offered.PL men-the.DAT tickets.ACC ‘I said to them that we offered the men tickets’	Agent-Goal-Theme
9	3.6	1.3	<i>Þ ?Elinborg helt, at teldurnar blivu læntar gentuni</i> Elinborg thought that computers-the.NOM were.PL lent.NOM.F.PL girl-the.DAT ‘Elinborg thought that the computers were lent to the girl’	Theme-Goal
10	3.5	1.2	<i>Þ ?Erla gloymdi, at bókurnar vórðu vístar dreinginum</i> Erla forgot that books-the.NOM were.PL shown.NOM.F.PL boy-the.DAT ‘Erla forgot that the books were shown to the boy’	Theme-Goal
11	1.7	0.9	<i>*Finnur helt, at dreinginum vórðu vístir pennarnir</i> Finnur thought that boy-the.DAT were.PL shown.NOM.M.PL pens-the.NOM ‘Finnur thought that the boy was shown the pens’	Goal-Theme
12	1.1	0.4	<i>*Gerda heldur, at gentuni bleiv lænt teldan</i> Gerda thinks that girl-the.DAT was.SG lent.NOM.F.SG computer-the.NOM ‘Gerda thinks that the girl was lent the computer’	Goal-Theme
13	2.9	1.6	<i>Þ ??Guðrið segði, at gentunum vórðu lovaðir pengar</i> Guðrið said that girls-the.DAT were.PL promised.NOM.M.PL money.NOM ‘Guðrið said that the girls were promised money’	Goal-Theme
14	2.4	1.5	<i>*Hákun gloymdi, at pensiónar vórðu veittar í fjør</i> Hákun forgot that pensions.*GEN.SG were.PL granted.NOM.F.PL last year ‘Hákun forgot that pensions were granted last year’	Theme only
15	4.5	1.1	<i>Hann heldur, at Sigmundur vísti dreinginum bókina</i> he thinks that Sigmund.NOM showed.SG boy-the.DAT book-the.ACC ‘He thinks that Sigmund showed the boy the book’	Agent-Goal-Theme
16	2.7	0.9	<i>??Hann segði mær, at skjølini blivu handað fyrri 2 minuttir síðani</i> he said me that files-the.NOM were.PL handed.NOM.N.PL for 2 minutes ago ‘He said to me that the files were handed two minutes ago’	Theme only
17	4.4	0.9	<i>Henný gloymdi, at teldan bleiv lænt í fjør</i> Henný forgot that computer-the.NOM was.SG lent.NOM.F.SG last year ‘Henný forgot that the computer was lent last year’	Theme only
18	4.0	1.0	<i>Jákup trúði, at hesir pengarnir vórðu lovaðir í fjør</i> Jacob believed that these.NOM money-the.NOM were.PL promised.NOM.M.PL last year	Theme only

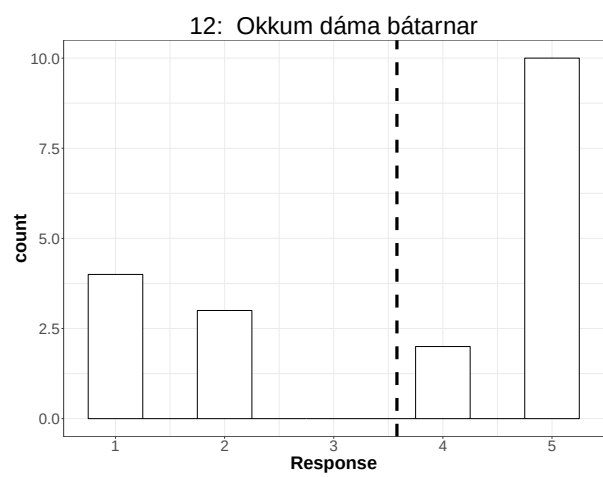
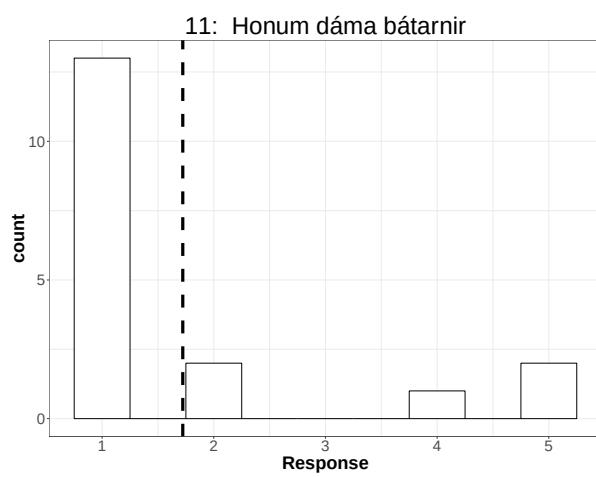
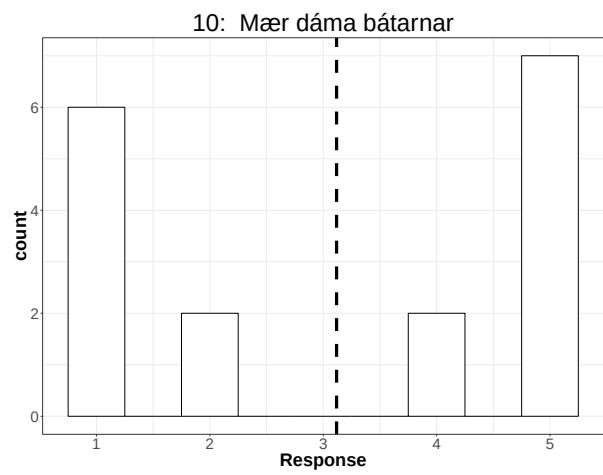
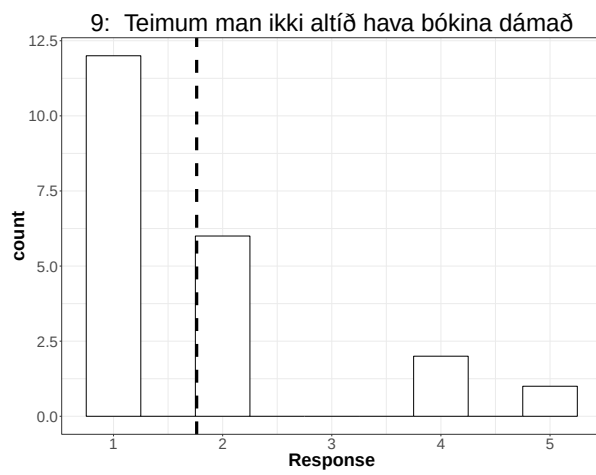
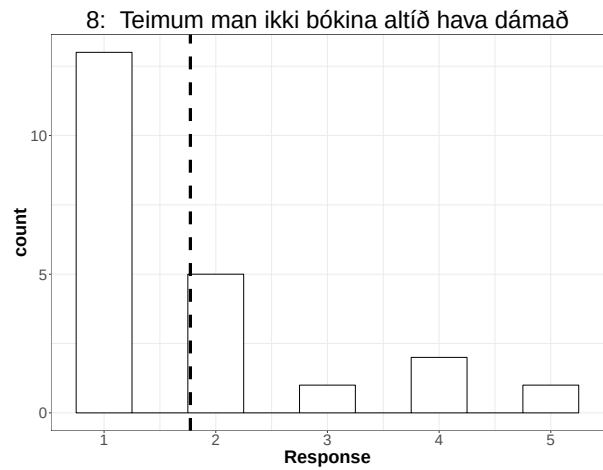
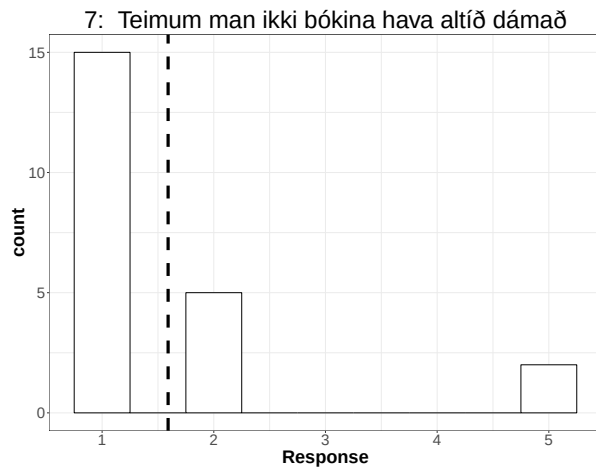
			'Jacob believed that this money was promised last year'	
19	1.6	1.2	<i>*Johann helt, at bankanum blivu yvirfluttir pengarnir</i> Johann thought that bank-the.DAT were.PL transferred.NOM.M.PL money-the.NOM 'Johann thought that the money was transferred to the bank'	Goal-Theme
20	4.6	0.6	<i>Jónvør heldur, at báturin varð seldur sjómonnunum</i> Jónvør thinks that boat-the.NOM was.SG sold.NOM.M.SG seamen-the.DAT 'Jónvør thinks that the boat was sold to the seamen'	Theme-Goal
21	3.9	0.9	<i>?Katrín segði, at húsið varð víst í gjár</i> Katrín said that house-the.NOM was.SG shown.NOM.N.SG yesterday 'Katrín said that the house was shown yesterday'	Theme only
22	2.0	1.3	<i>*Oddmar sigur, at monnunum blivu bjóðaðar bilettirnar</i> Oddmar says that men-the.DAT were.PL offered.NOM.F.PL tickets-the.NOM 'Oddmar says that the men were offered the tickets'	Goal-Theme
23	2.1	1.2	<i>*Pætur helt, at monnunum vórðu veittar pensiónar</i> Peter thought that men-the.DAT were.PL bestowed.NOM.F.PL pensions.*GEN.SG 'Peter thought that the men were granted pensions'	Goal-Theme
24	3.5	1.3	<i>Þ ?Rógvi heldur, at bilettirnar blivu bodnar konunum</i> EXPL was.SG read.SUP by all.DAT 'Rógvi thinks that the tickets were offered to the women'	Theme-Goal
25	4.8	0.4	<i>Súsanna segði, at hon lænti gentuni telduna</i> Susanna said that she.NOM lent.SG girl-the.DAT computer-the.ACC 'Susanna said that she lent the girl the computer'	Agent-Goal-Theme
26	3.5	1.2	<i>Þ ?Teir sóu, at pengarnir blivu yvirfluttir í fjør</i> they saw that money-the.NOM were.PL transferred.NOM.M.PL last year 'They saw that the money was transferred last year'	Theme only
27	1.6	0.7	<i>*Tey søgdu, at konuni bleiv handaður pennurin</i> they said that woman-the.DAT was.SG handed.NOM.M.SG pen-the.NOM 'They said that the woman was handed the pen'	Goal-Theme
28	3.5	1.3	<i>Þ ?Tit gloymdu, at pengarnir blivu yvirfluttir til bankan.</i> you.PL forgot that money-the.NOM were.SG transferred.NOM.M.PL to bank-the.ACC 'You forgot that the money was transferred to the bank'	Theme-Goal
29	4.8	0.4	<i>Uni helt, at tær lovaðu gentunum pengar</i> Uni thought that they.NOM.F.PL promised.PL girls-the.DAT money.ACC 'Uni thought that they promised the girls money'	Agent-Goal-Theme
30	2.3	1.4	<i>*Vit hoyrdu, at stjórnin veitti monnunum pensiónar</i> we heard that boss-the.NOM bestowed.SG men-the.DAT pensions.*GEN.SG 'We heard that the boss granted the men pensions'	Agent-Goal-Theme
31	3.8	1.2	<i>Þ ?Vit sóu, at pennurin bleiv handaður konuni</i> we saw that pen-the.NOM was.SG handed.NOM.M.SG girl-the.DAT 'We saw that the pen was handed to the woman'	Theme-Goal

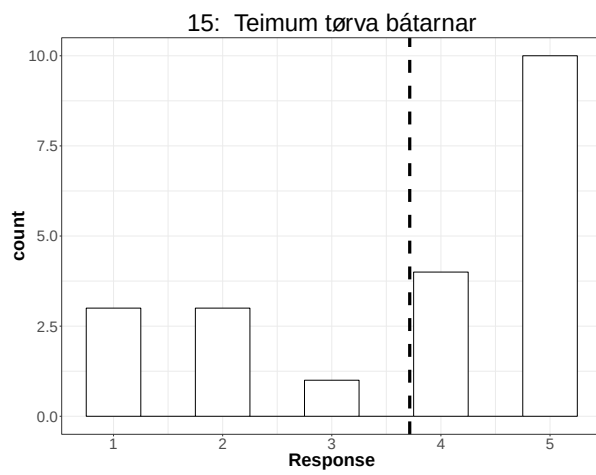
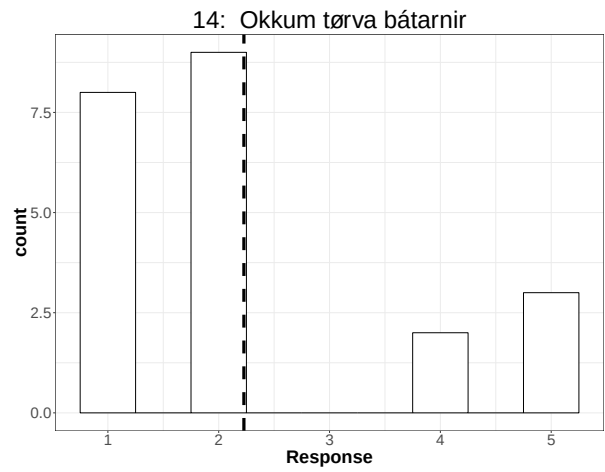
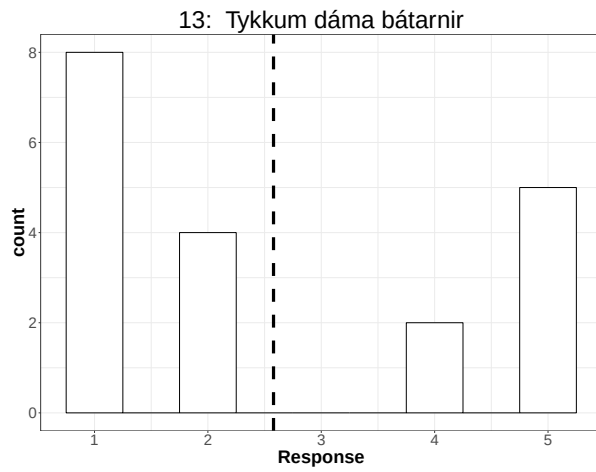
Appendix C: Histograms for survey judgement distributions

In the following appendices, histograms are presented for the sentences tested in the surveys. A black dotted line indicates the mean judgement.

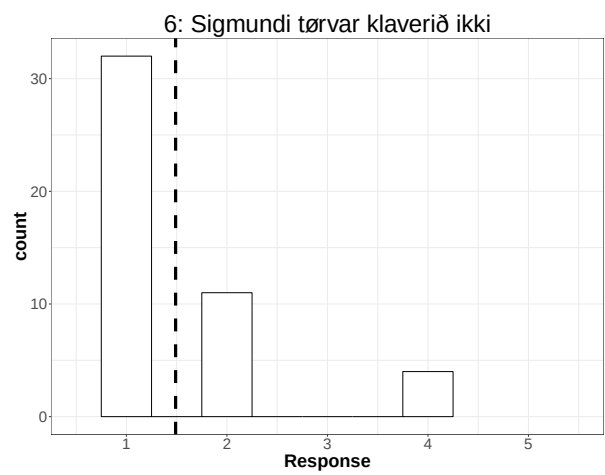
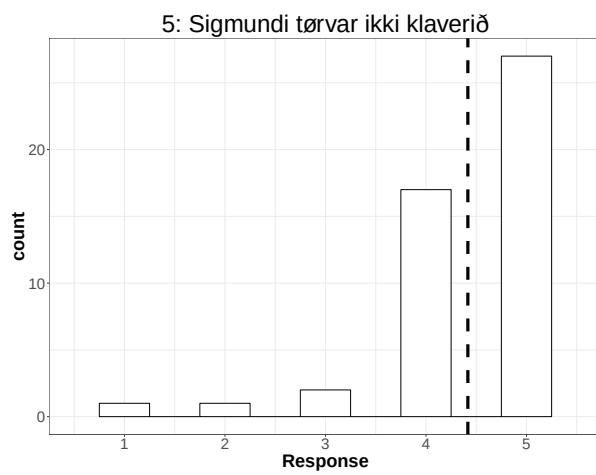
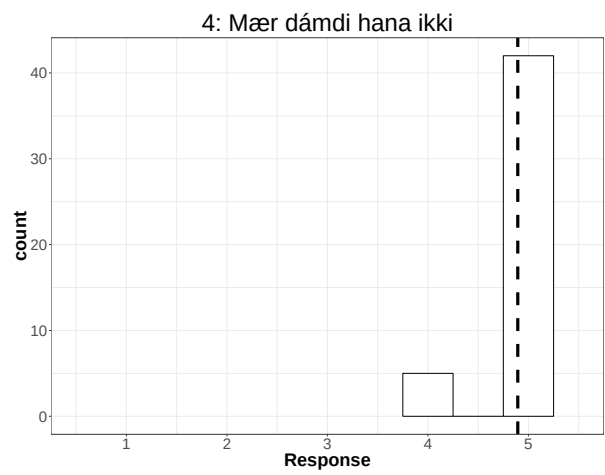
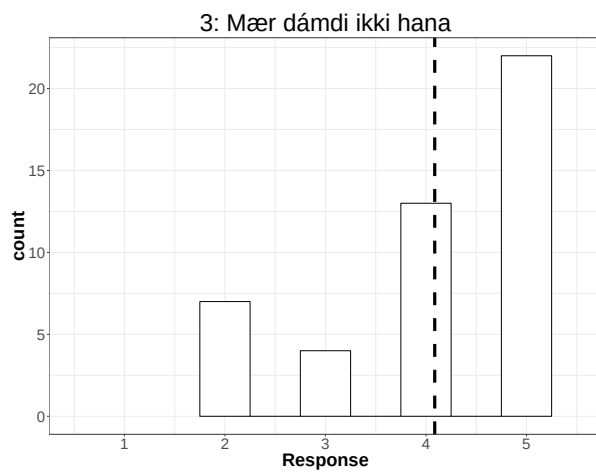
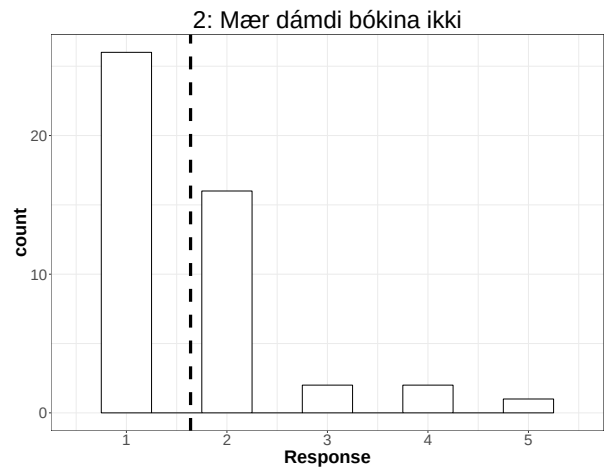
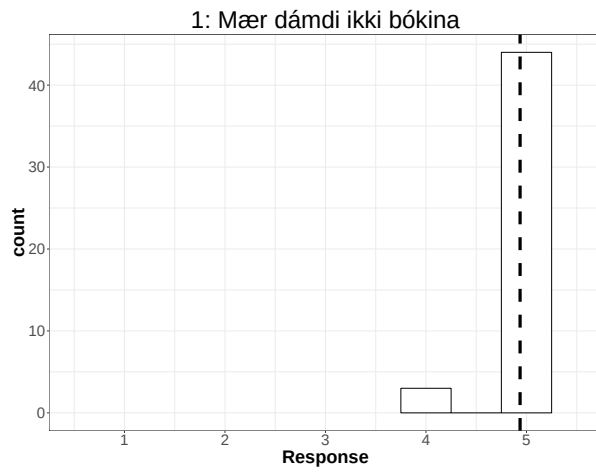
Appendix C1: Faroese quirky case survey 1

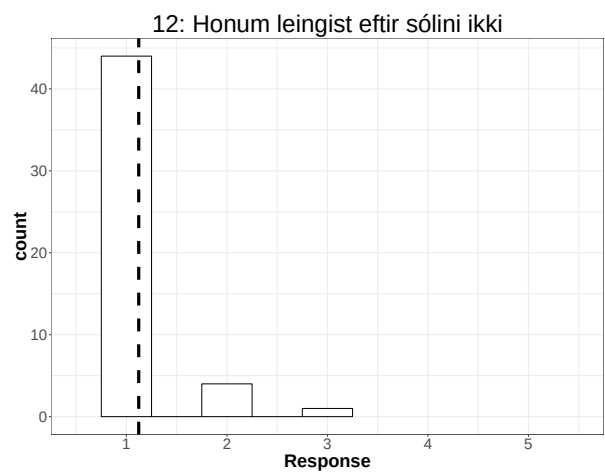
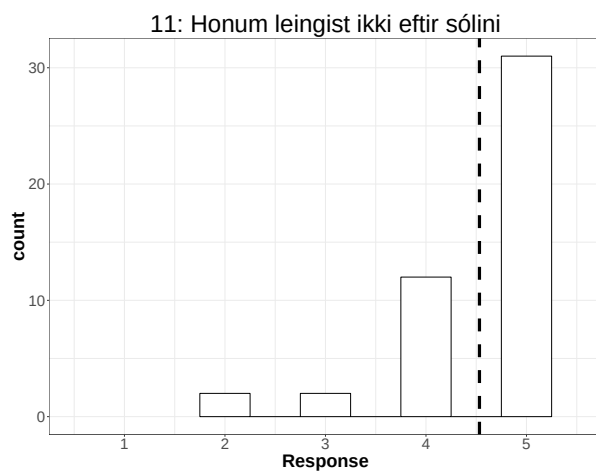
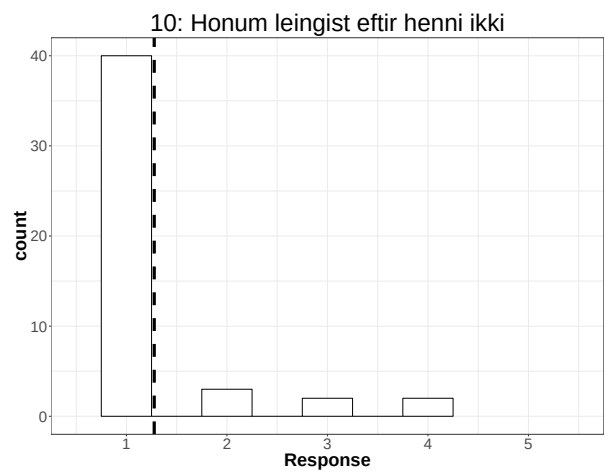
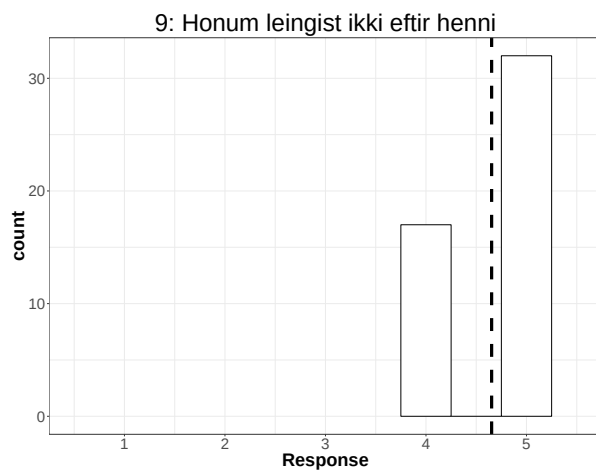
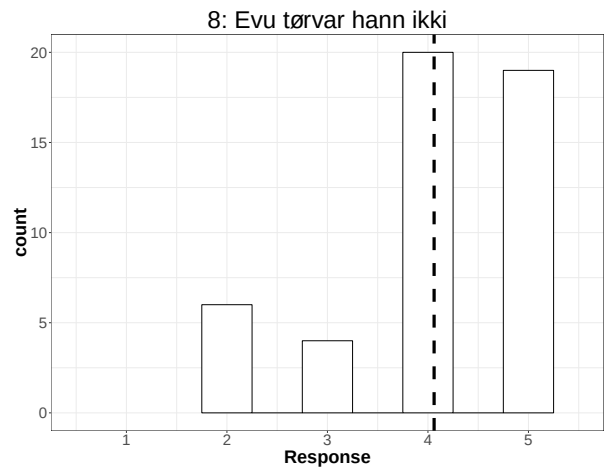
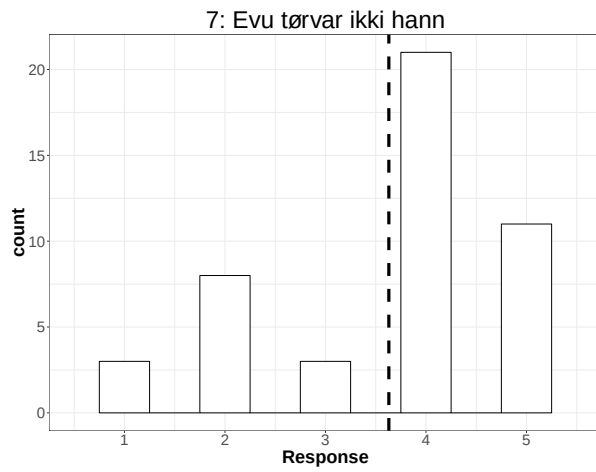


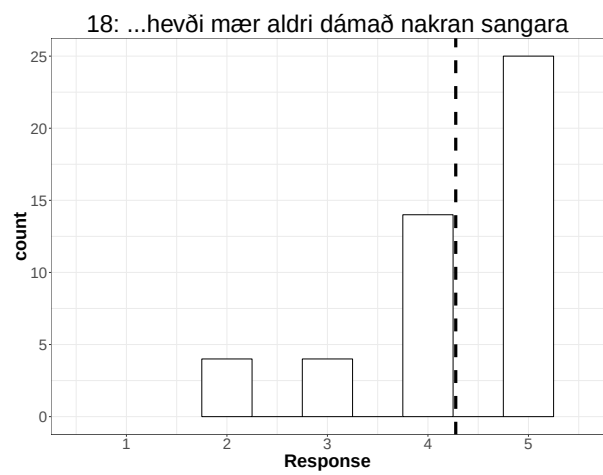
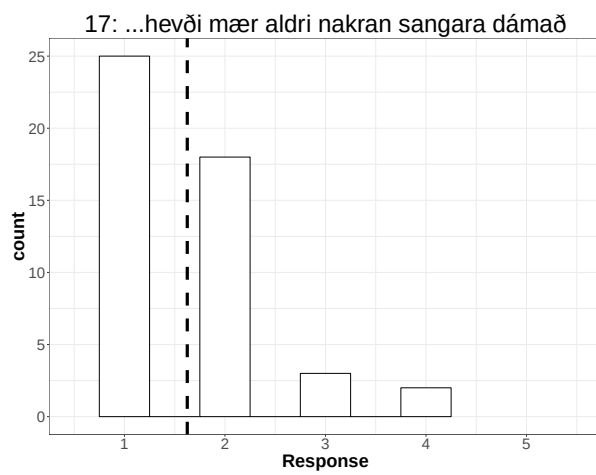
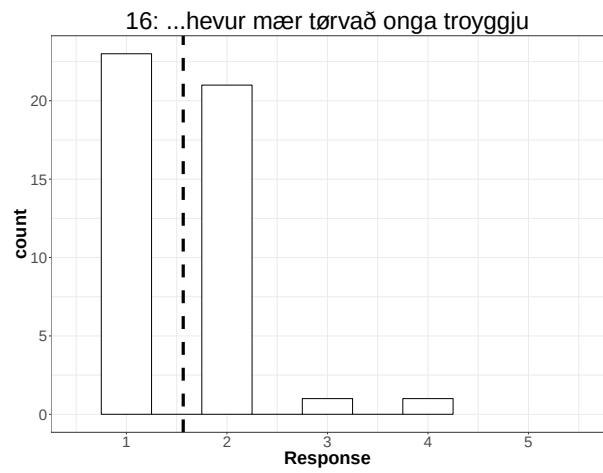
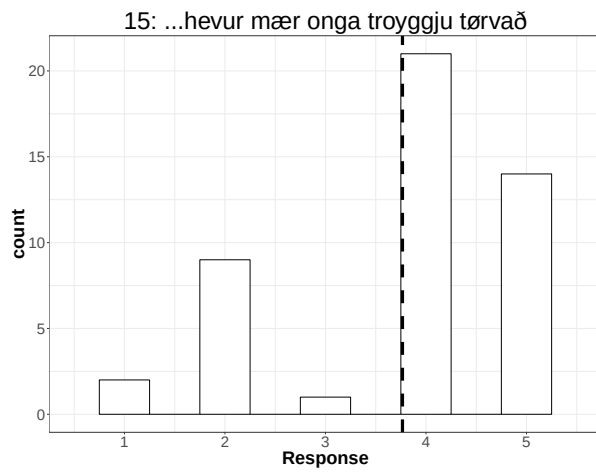
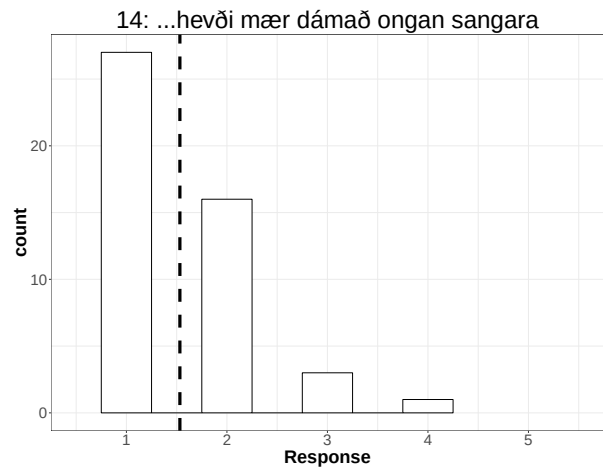
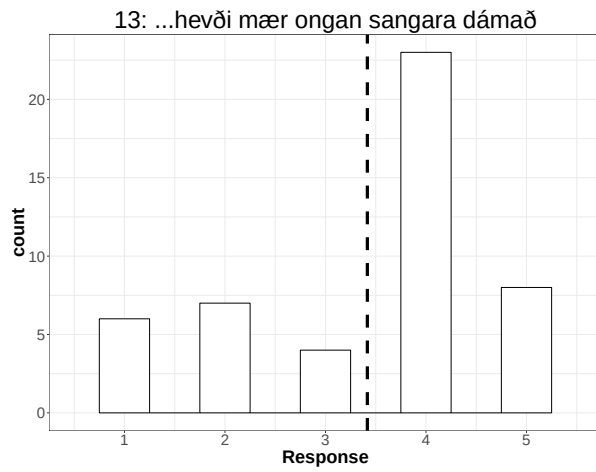


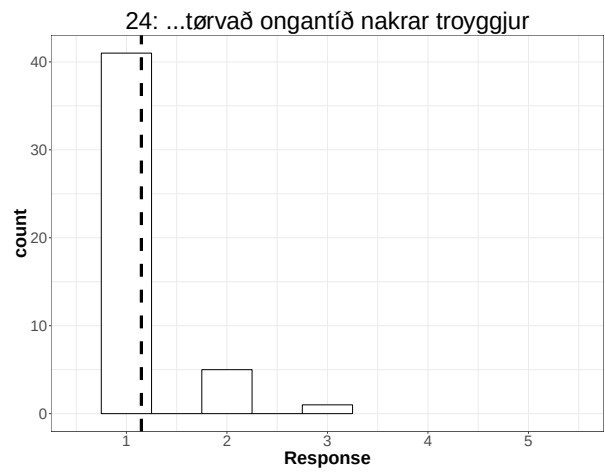
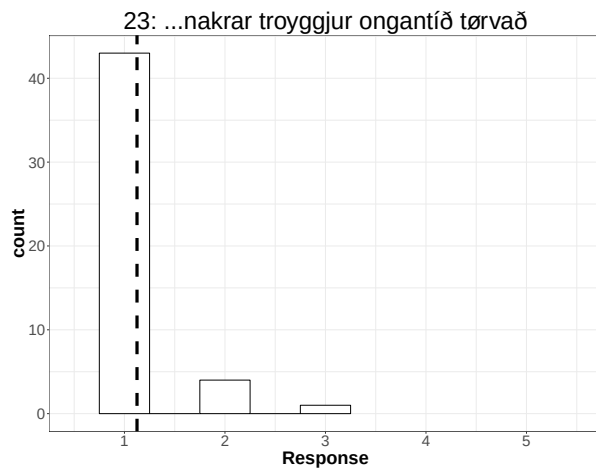
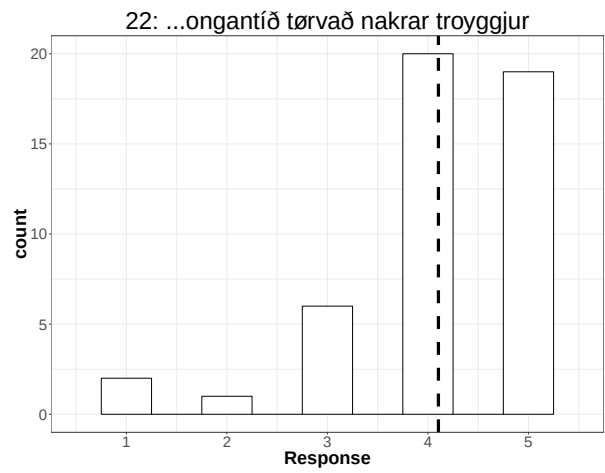
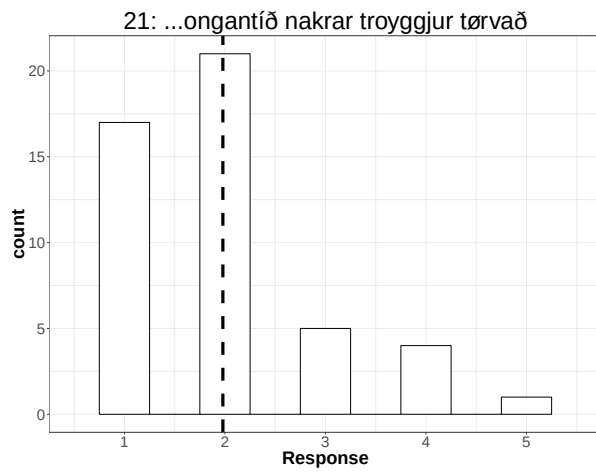
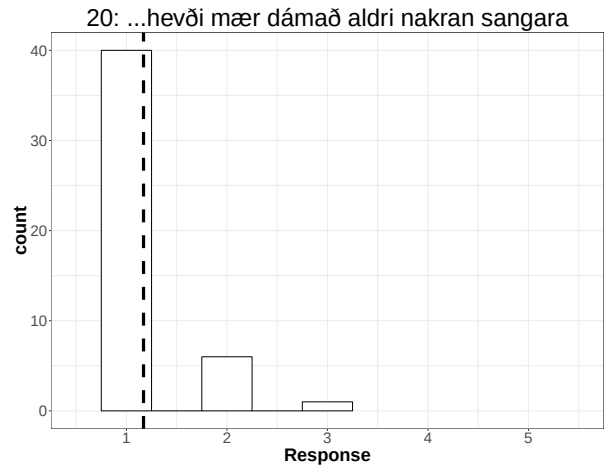
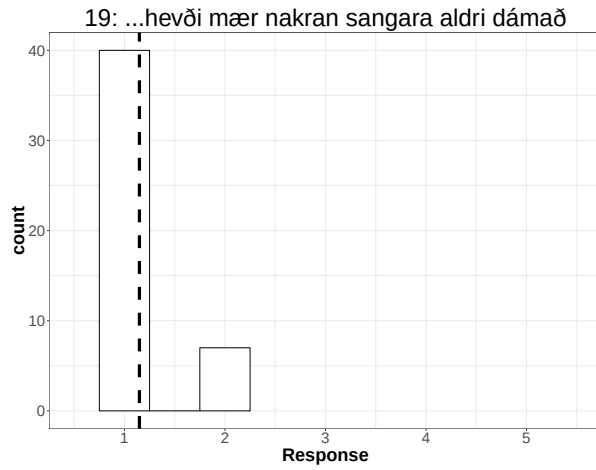


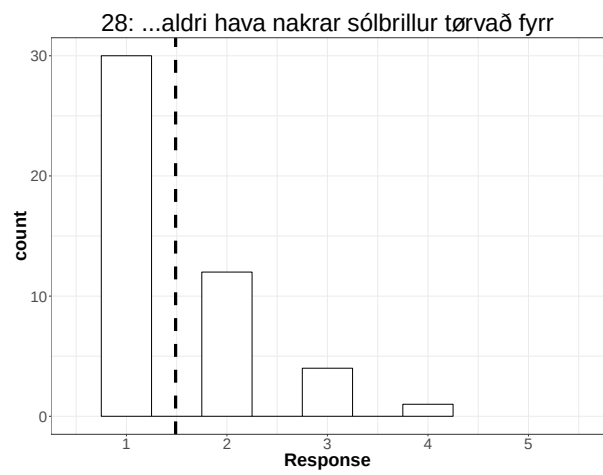
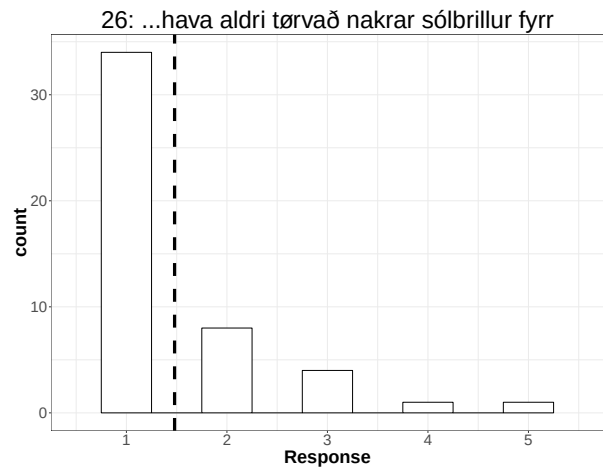
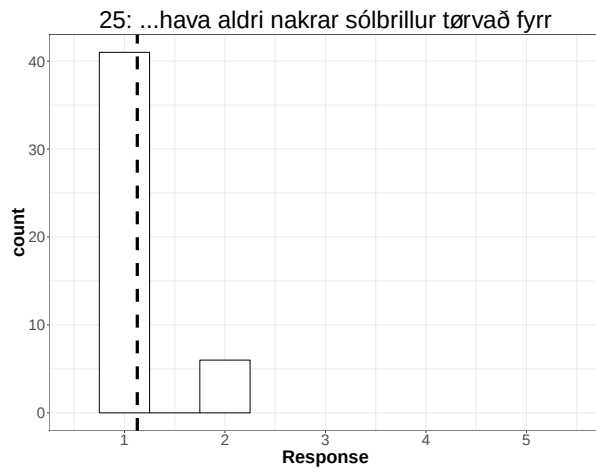
Appendix C2: Faroese quirky case survey 2



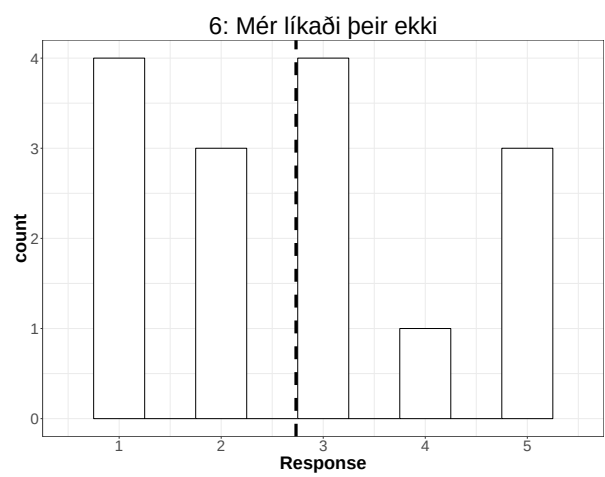
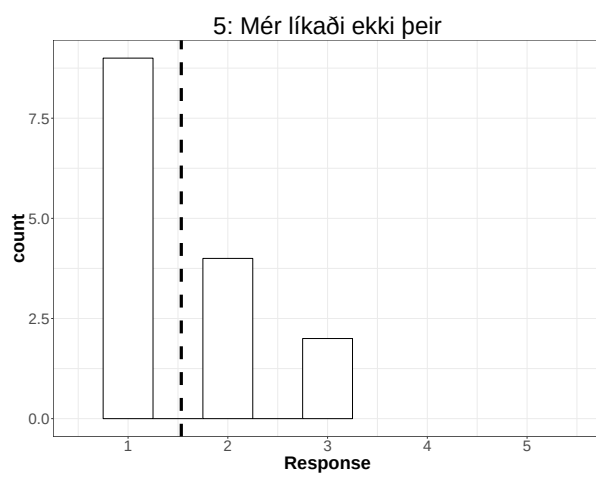
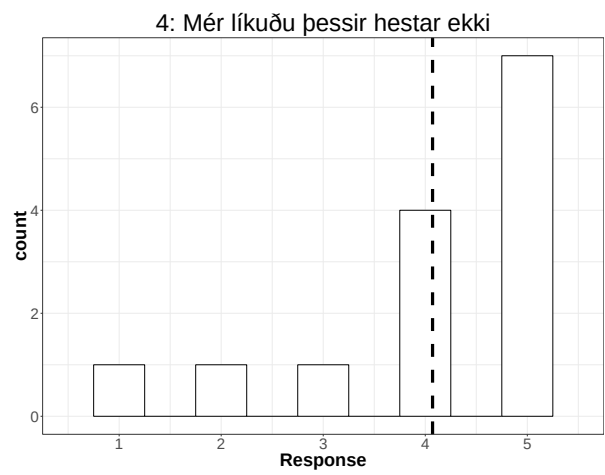
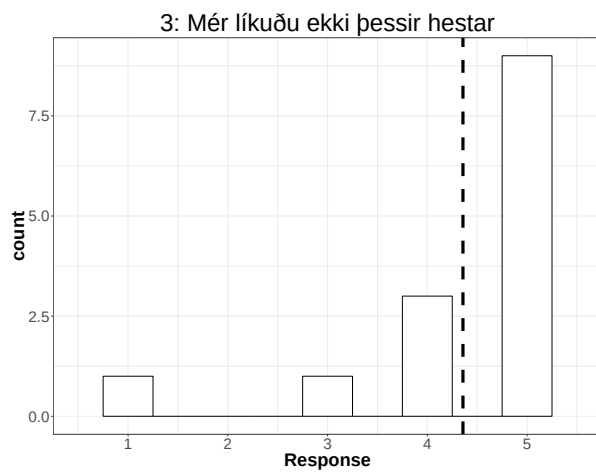
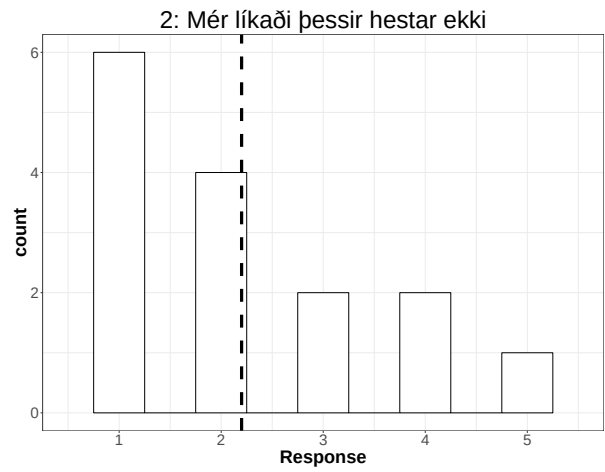
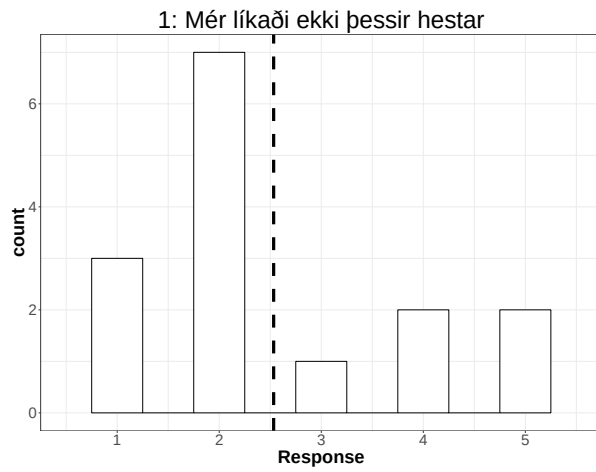


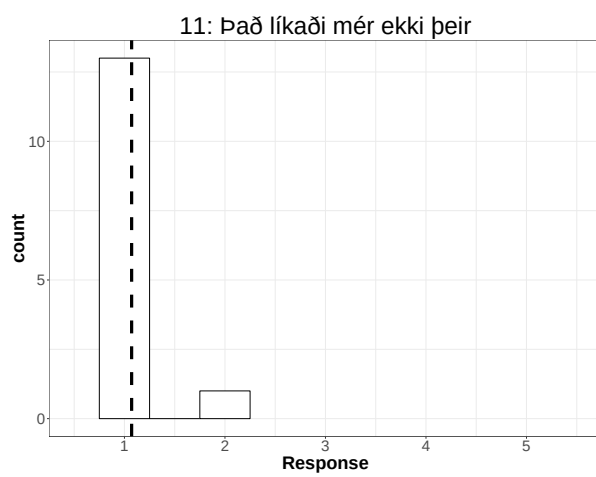
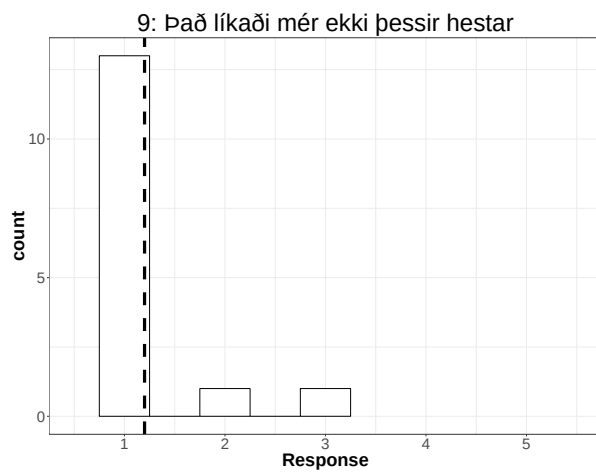
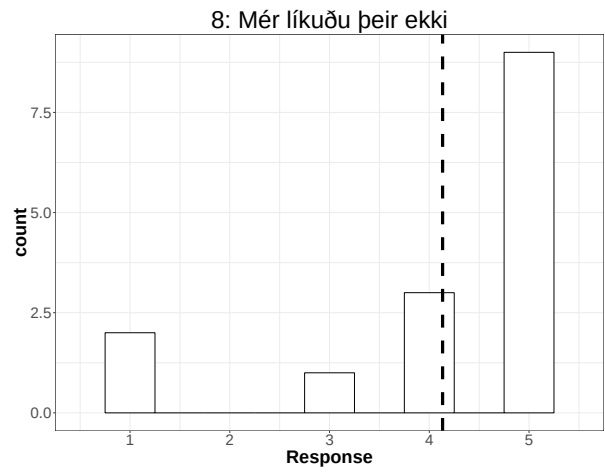
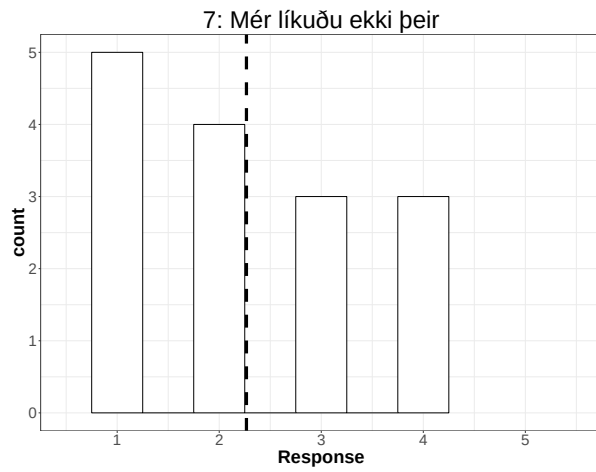


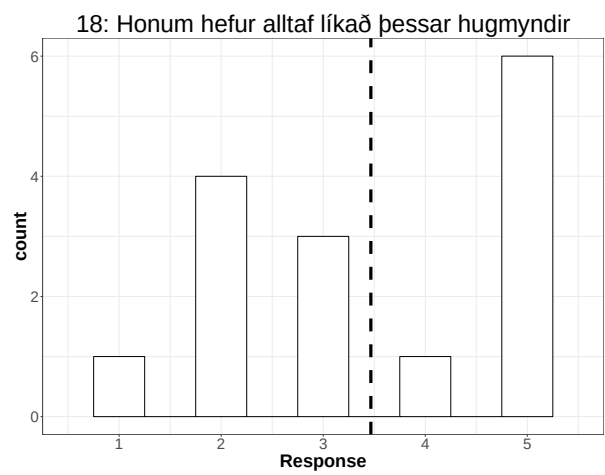
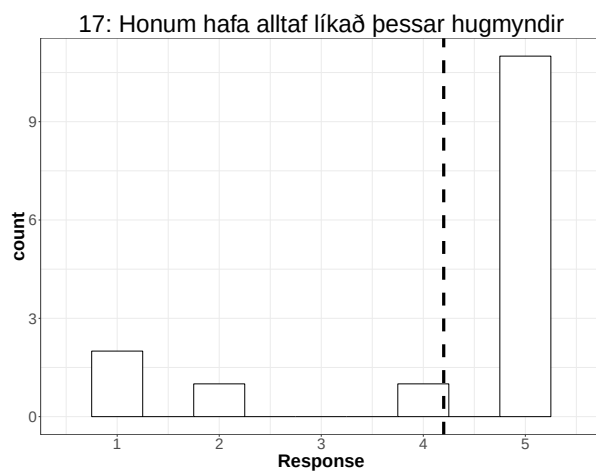
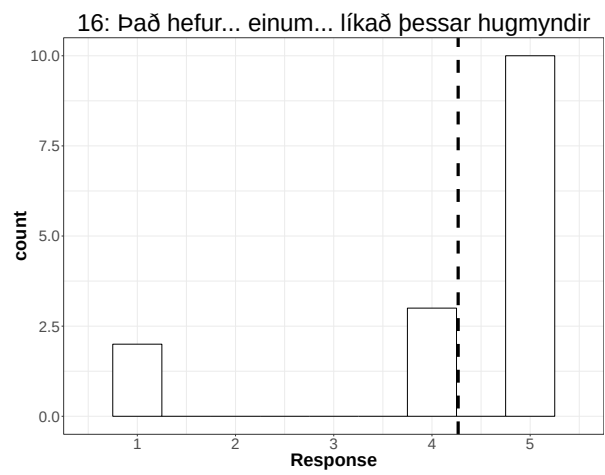
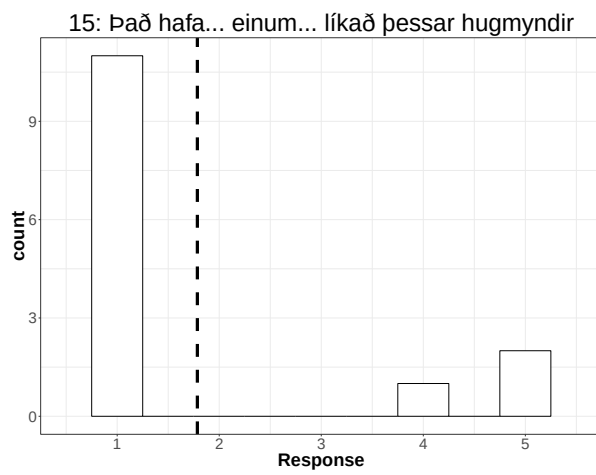
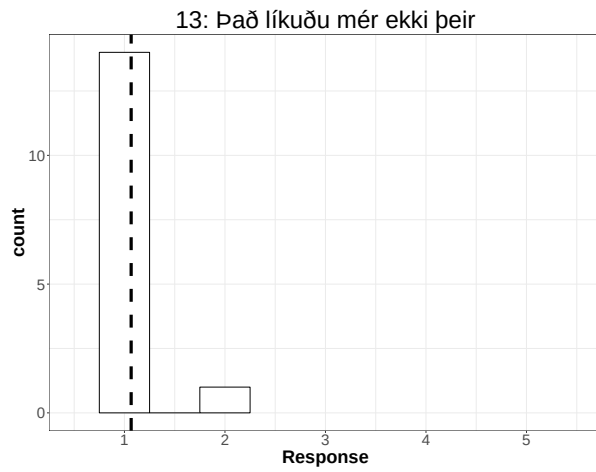


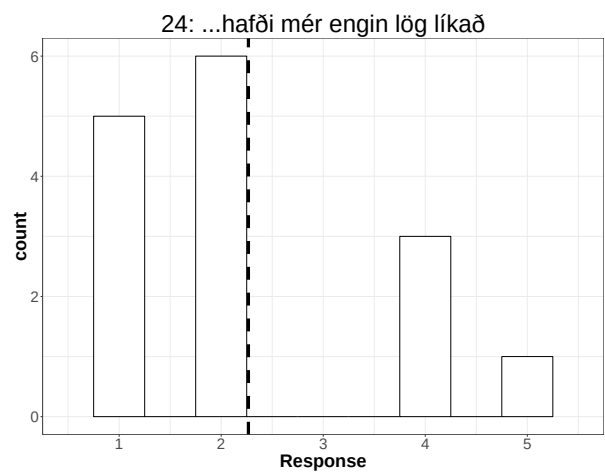
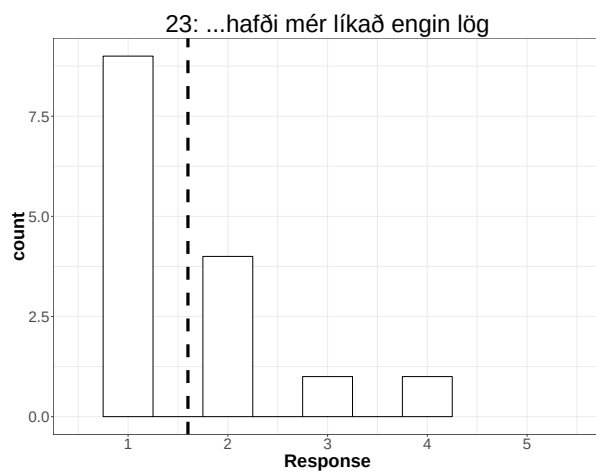
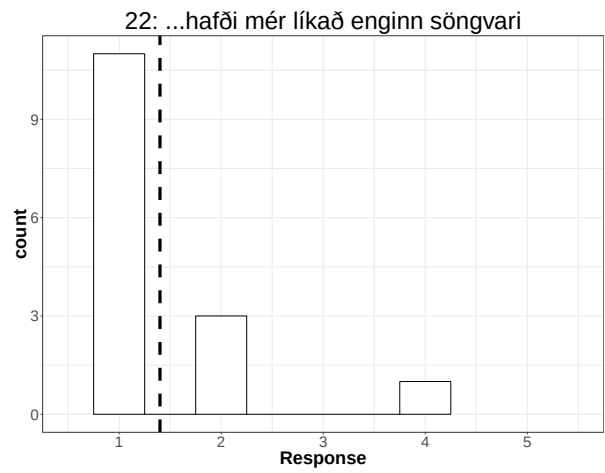
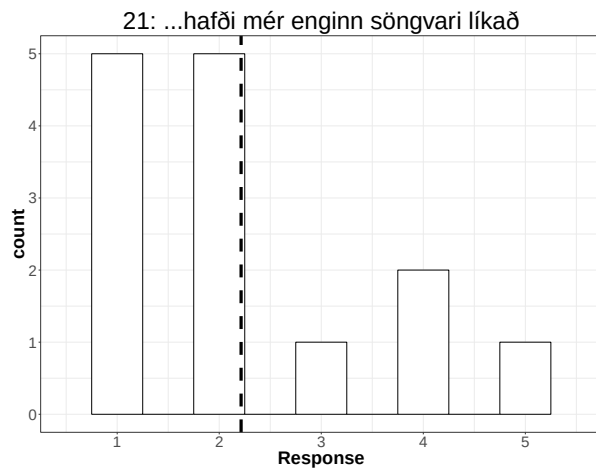
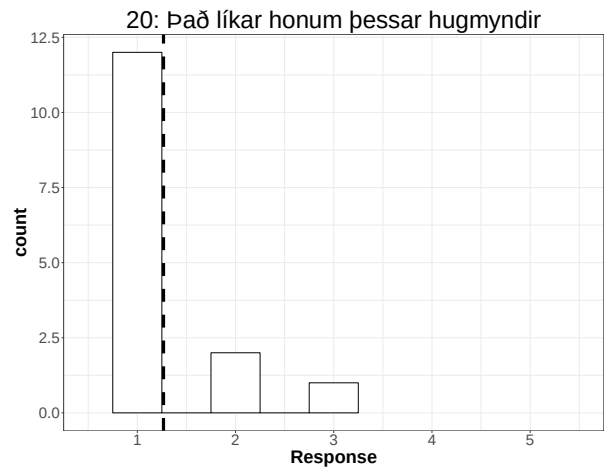
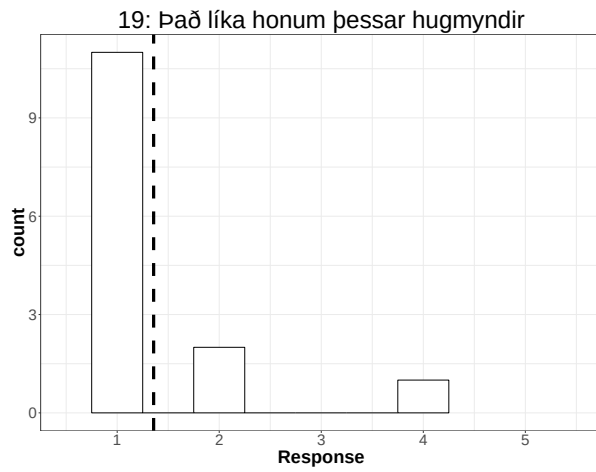


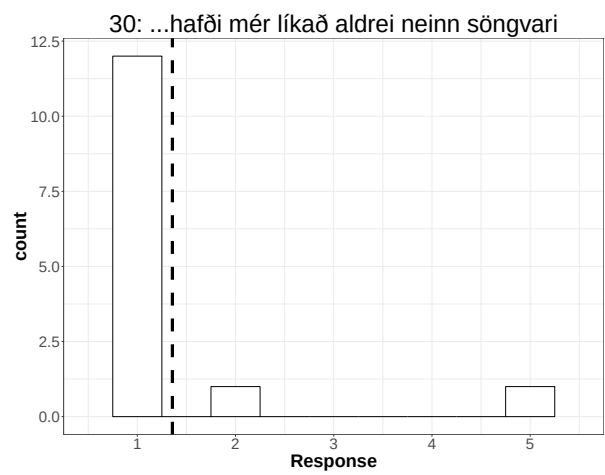
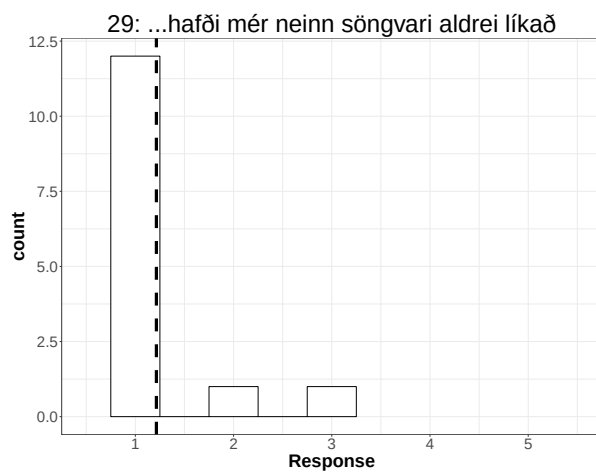
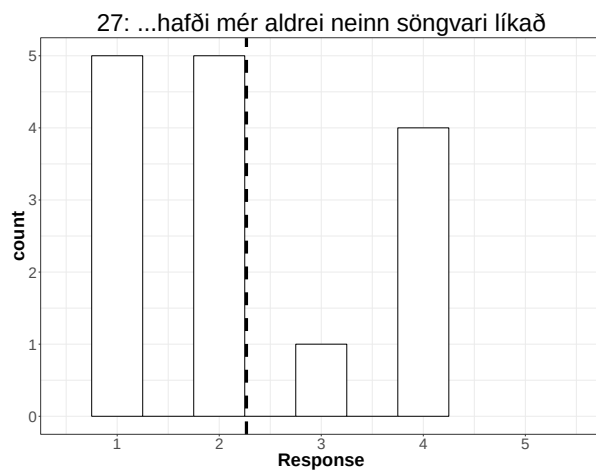
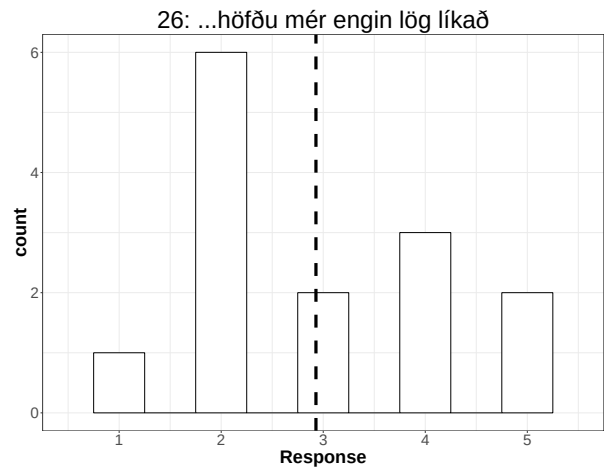
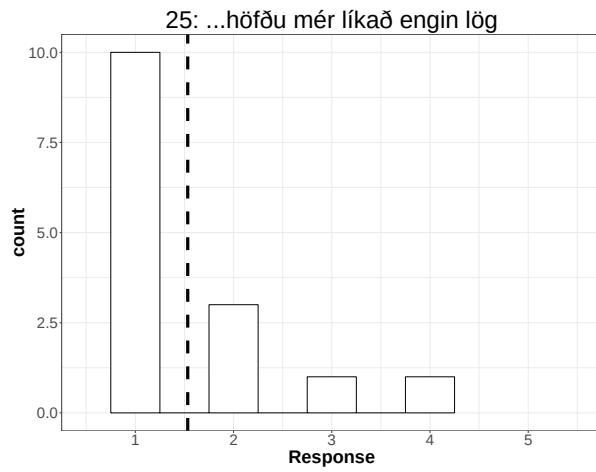
Appendix C3: Icelandic quirky case survey

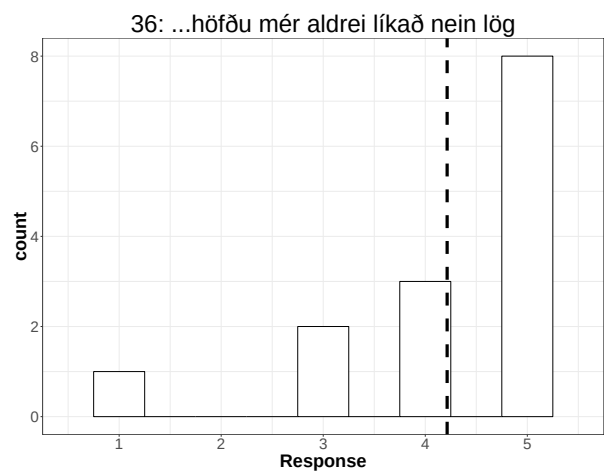
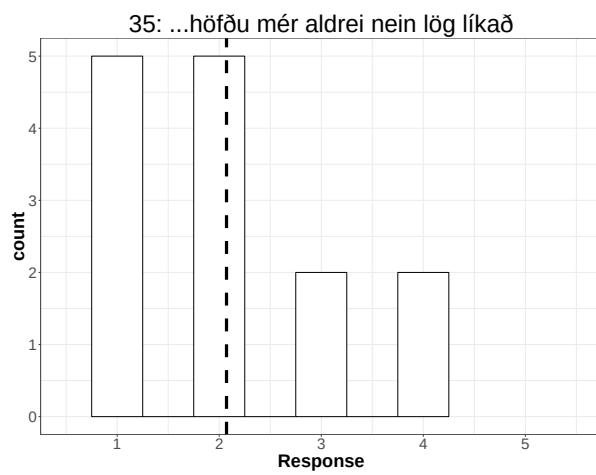
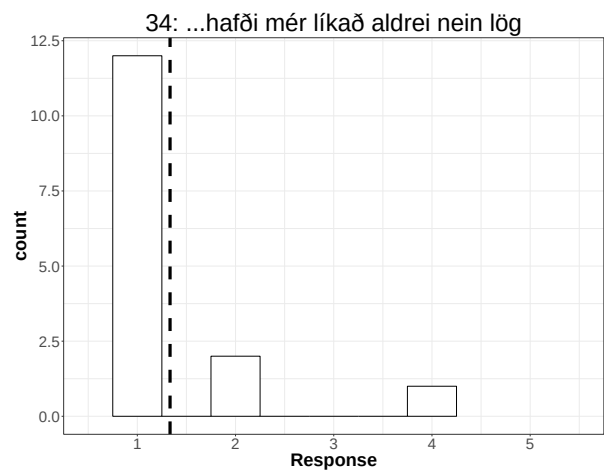
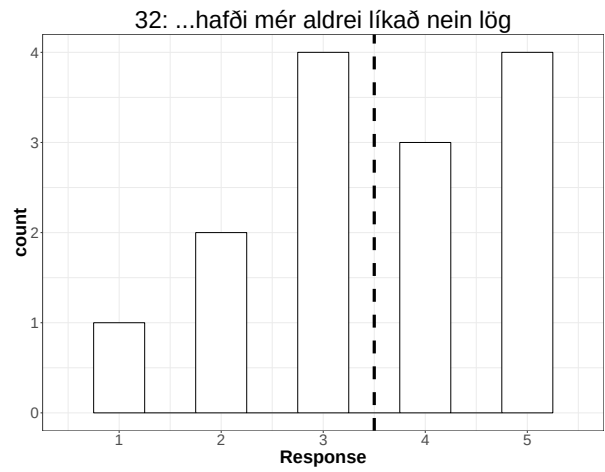
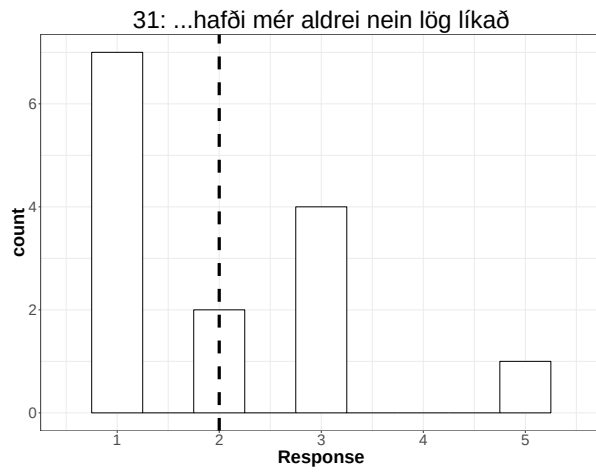


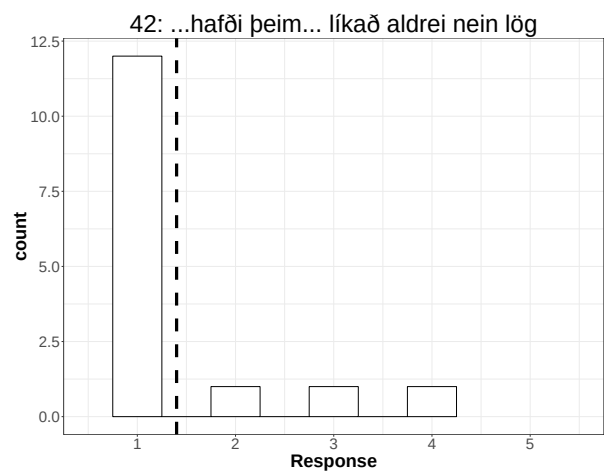
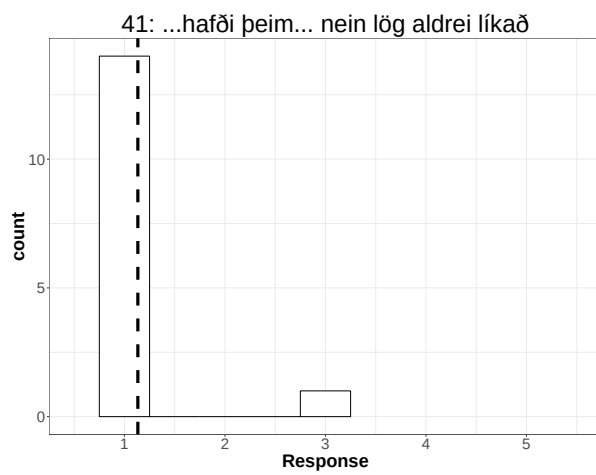
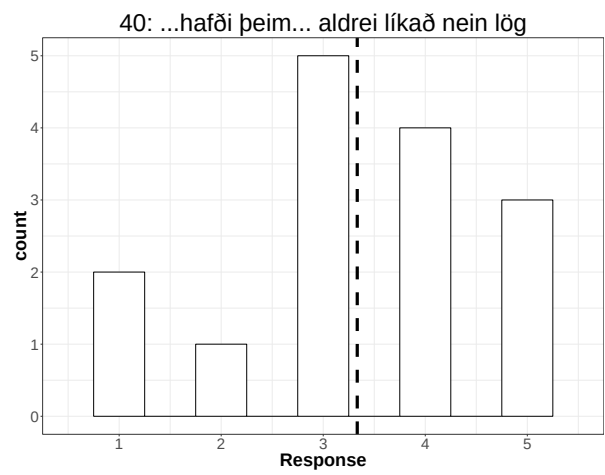
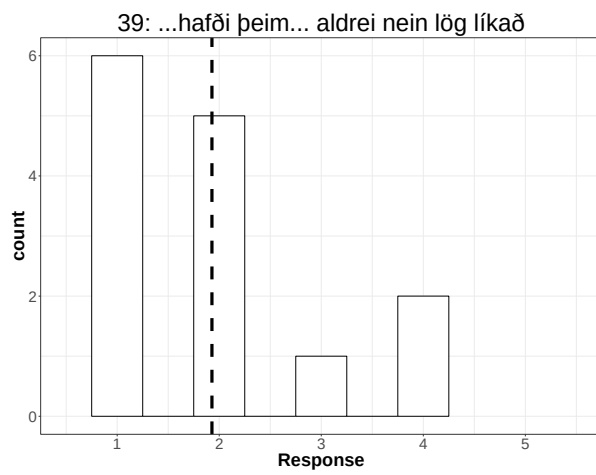
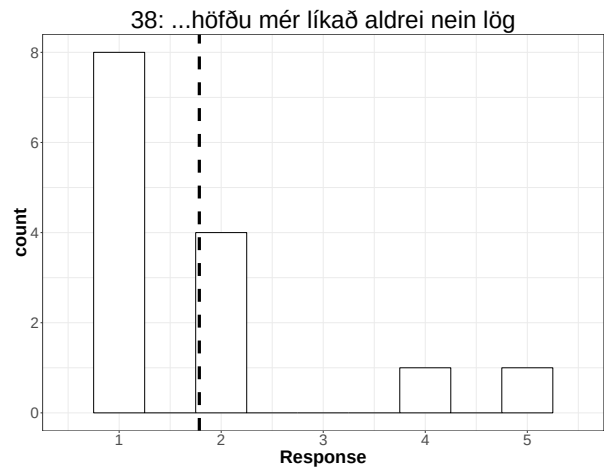
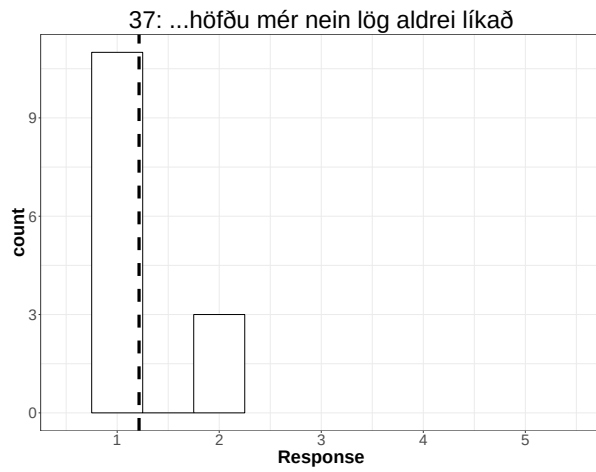


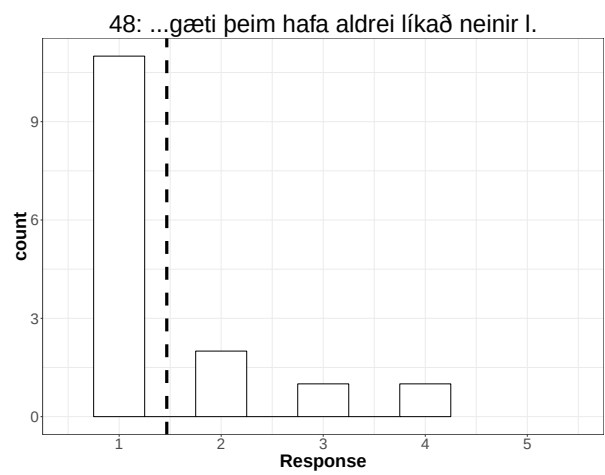
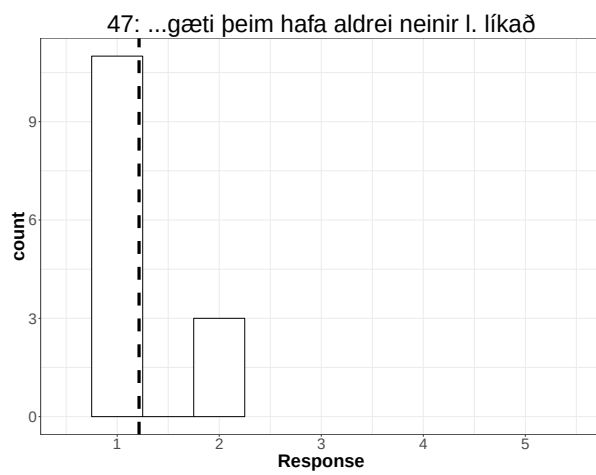
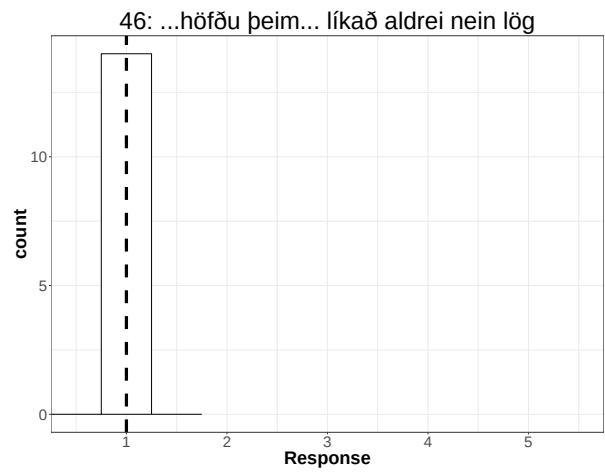
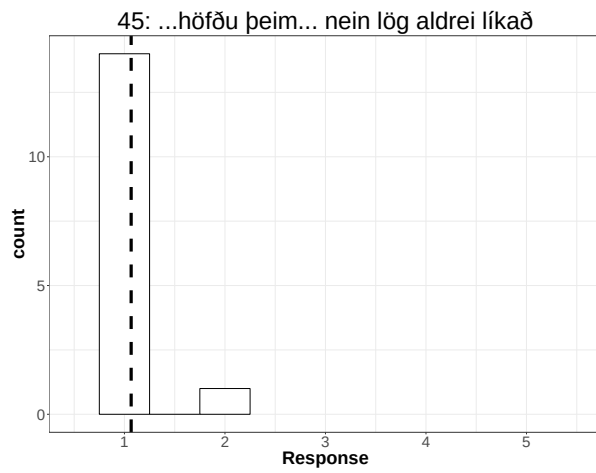
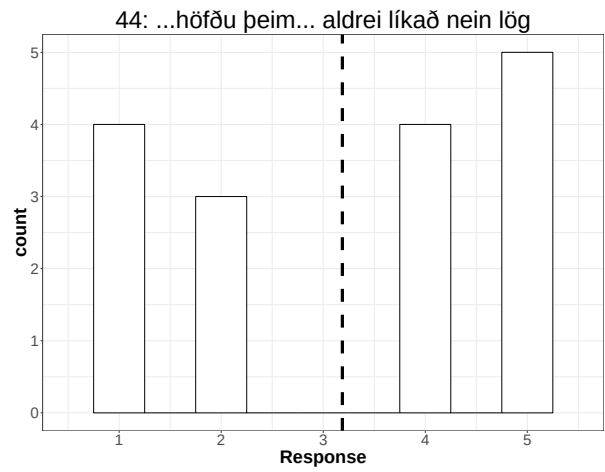
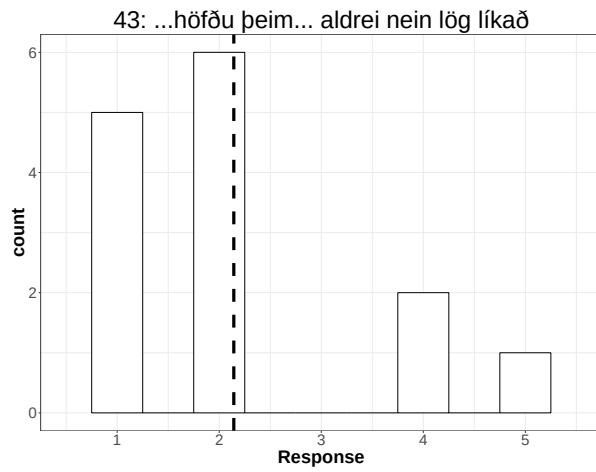


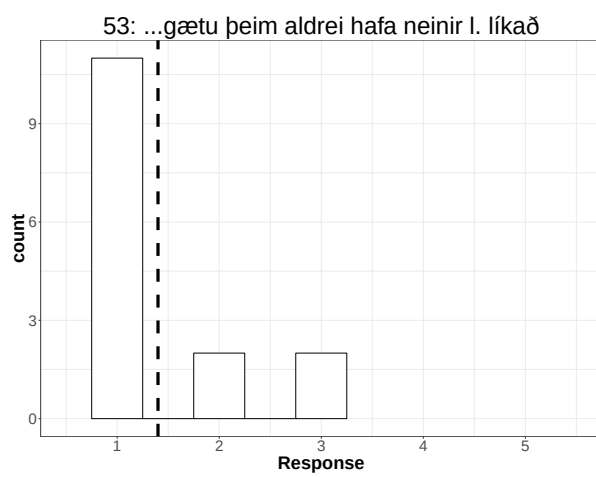
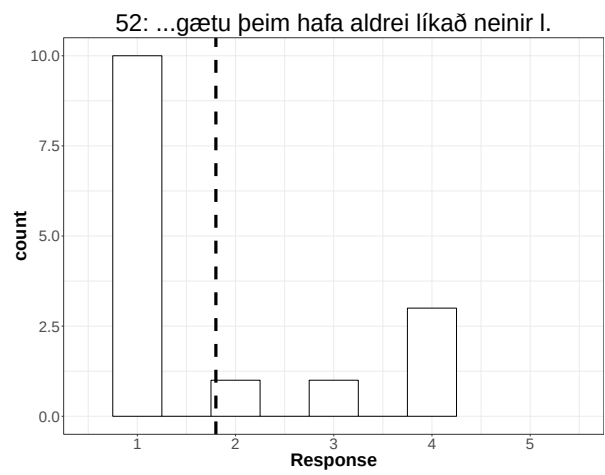
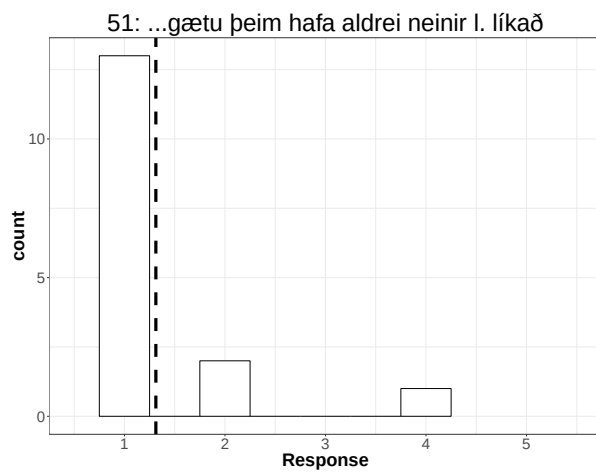
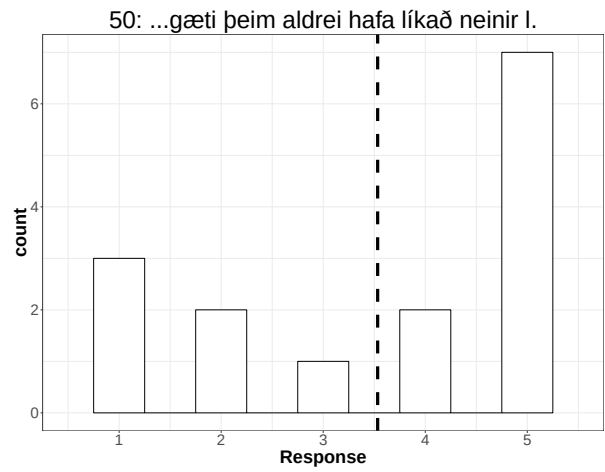
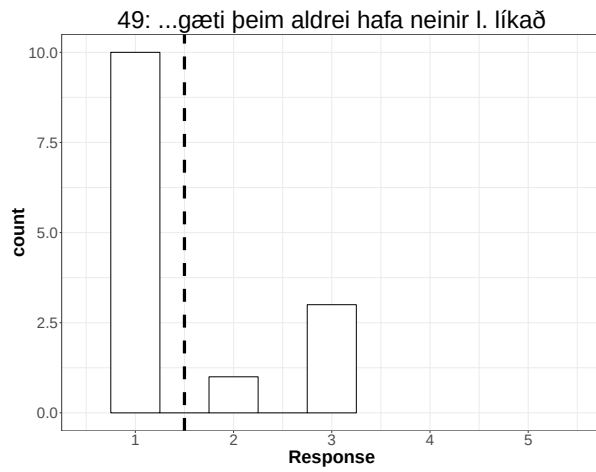




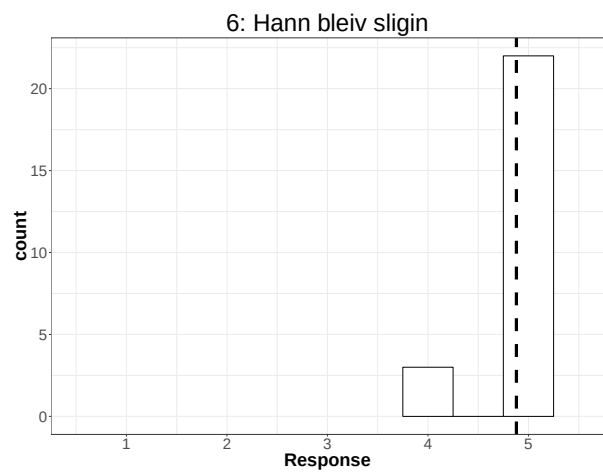
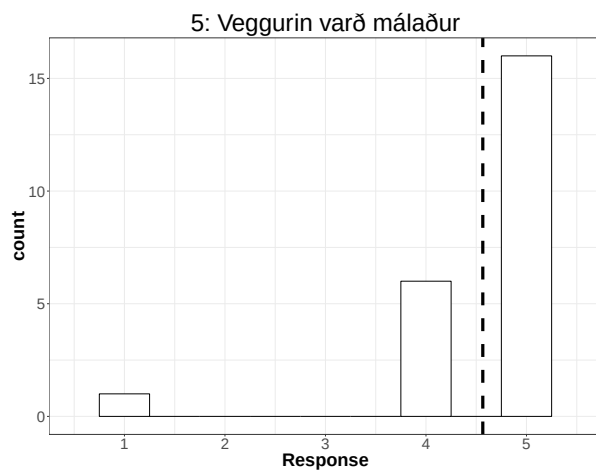
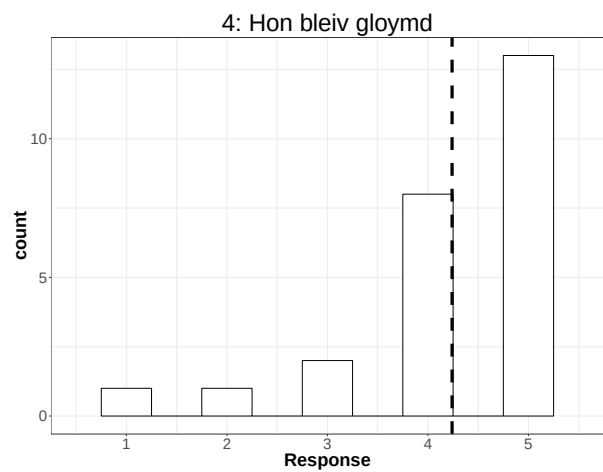
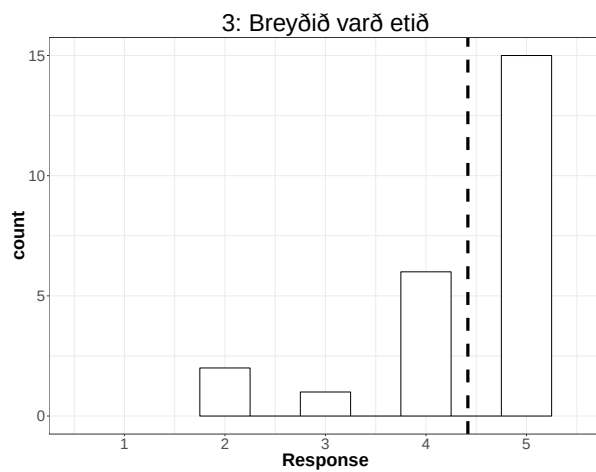
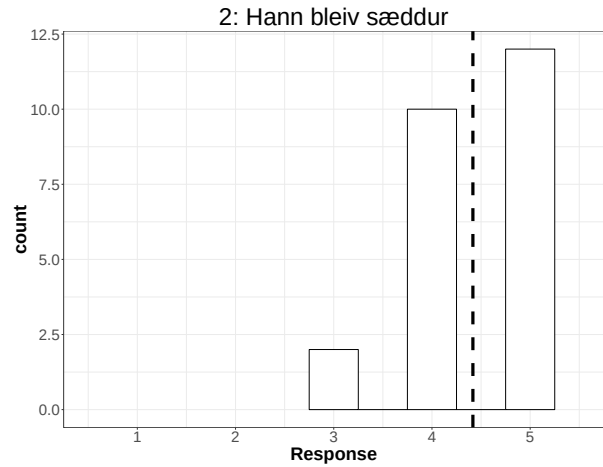
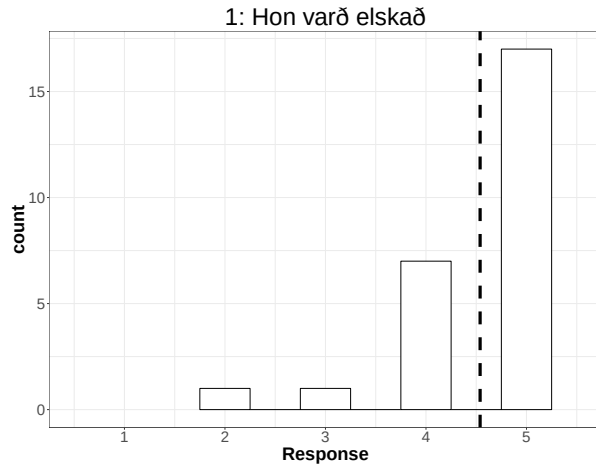


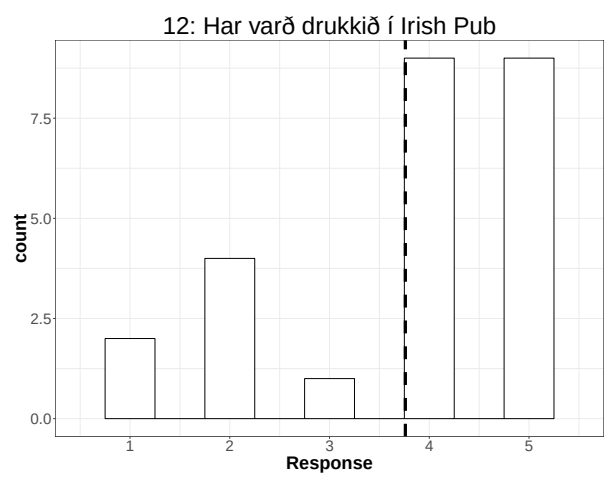
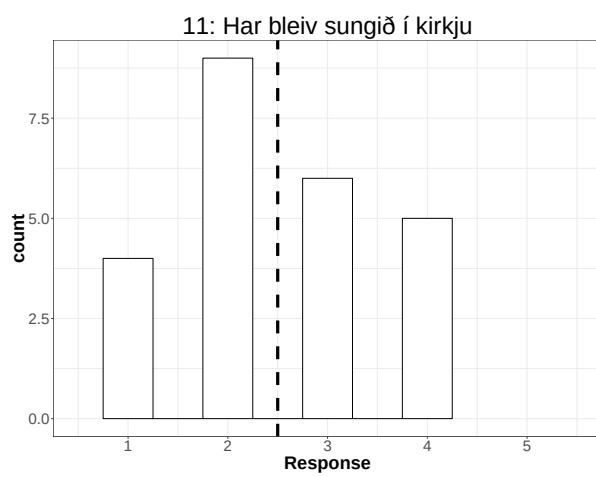
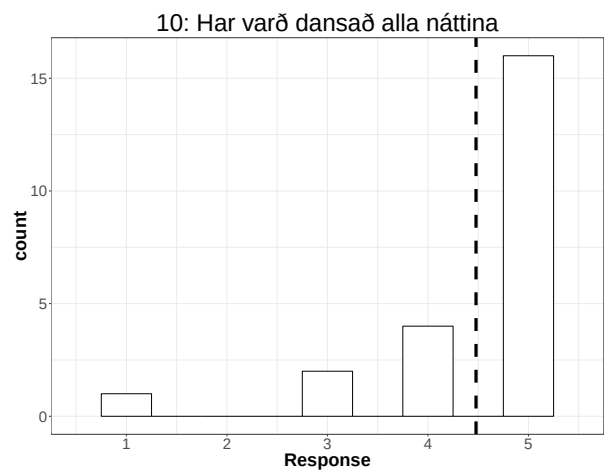
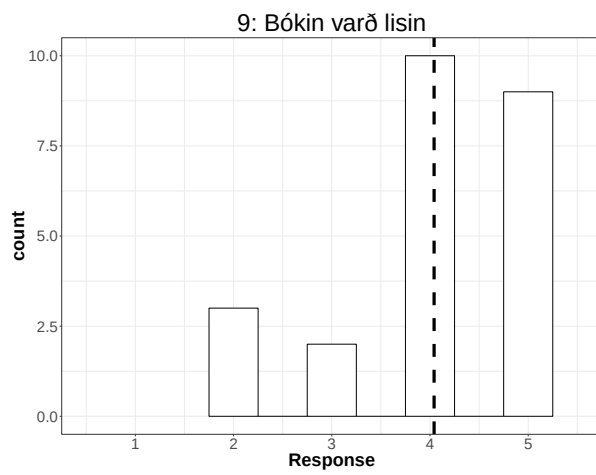
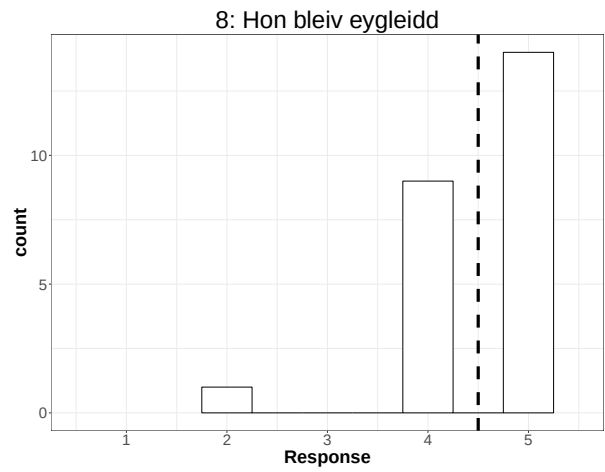
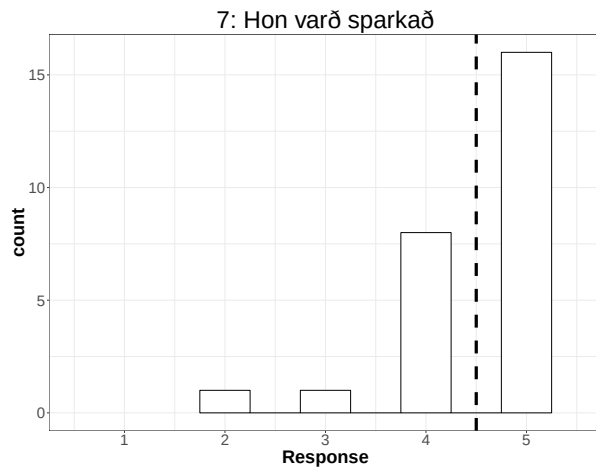


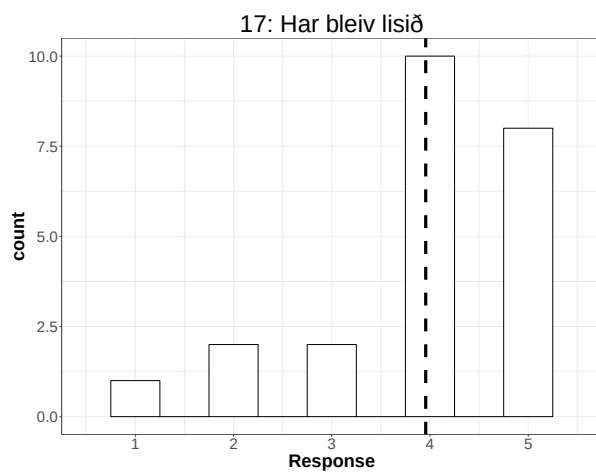
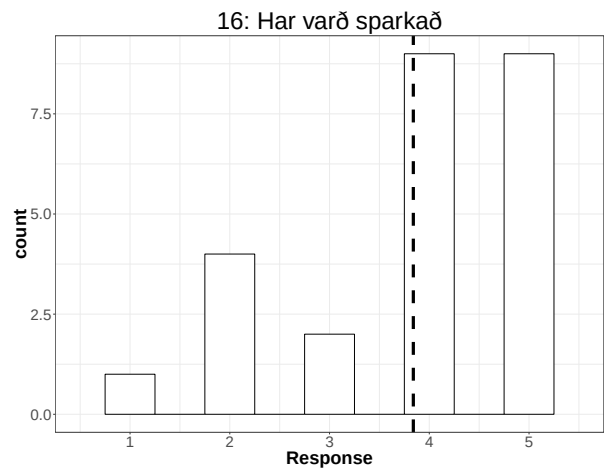
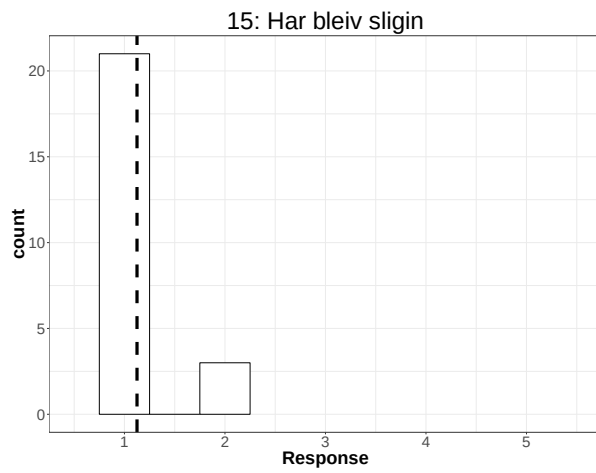
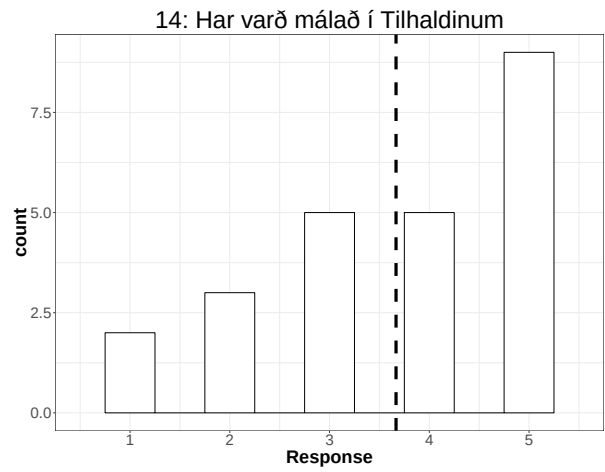
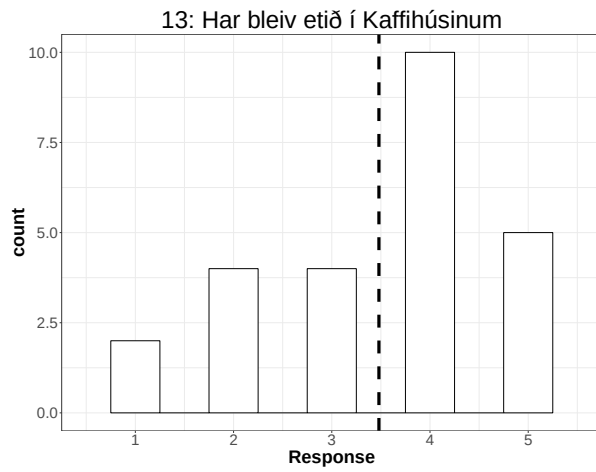




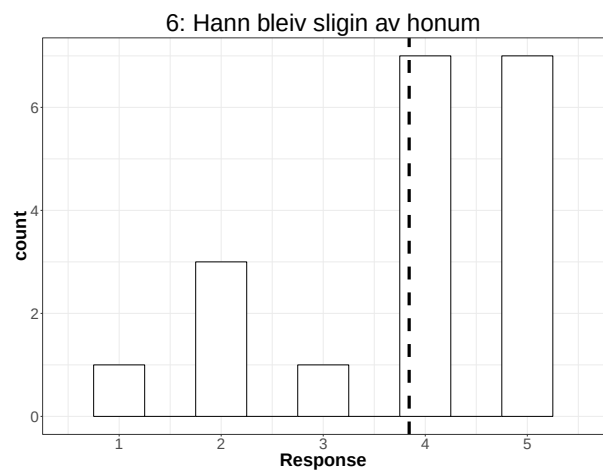
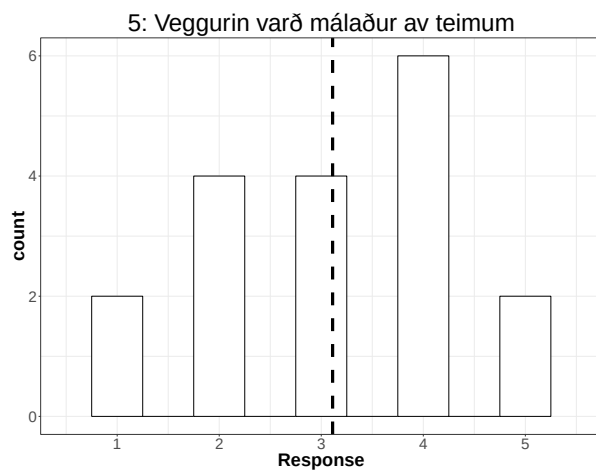
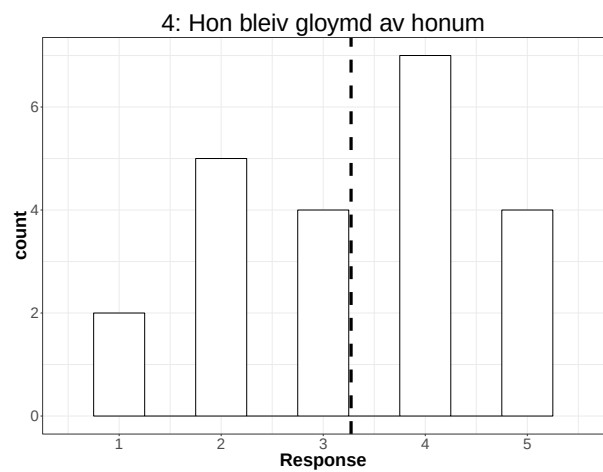
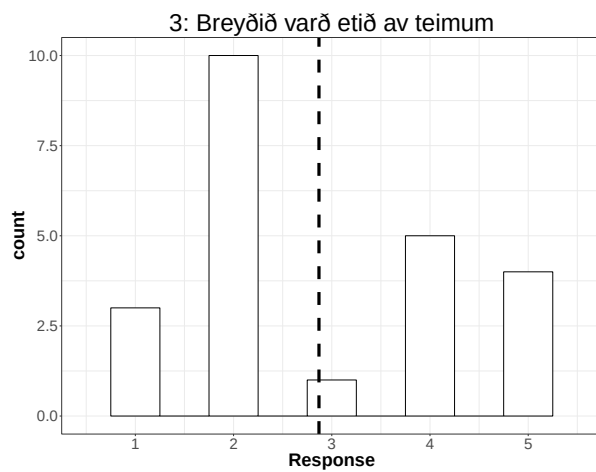
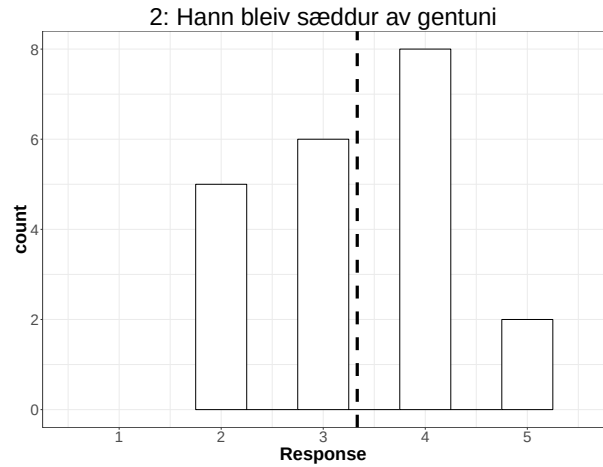
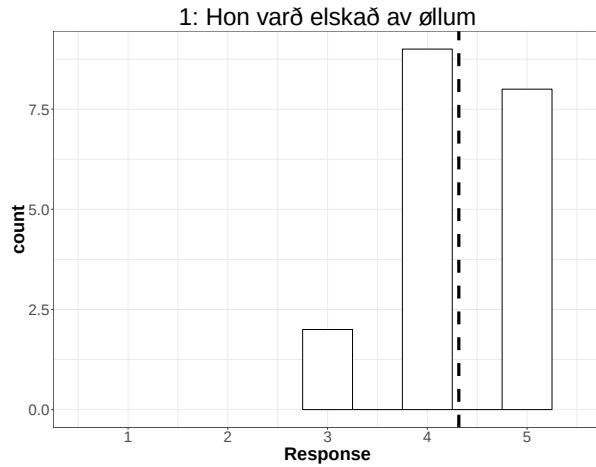
Appendix C4: Faroese passive survey 1

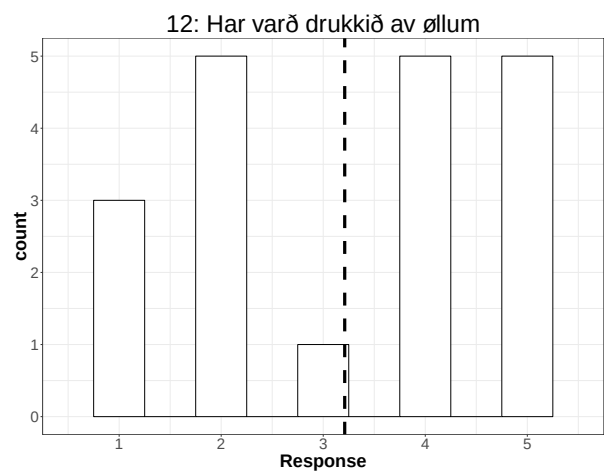
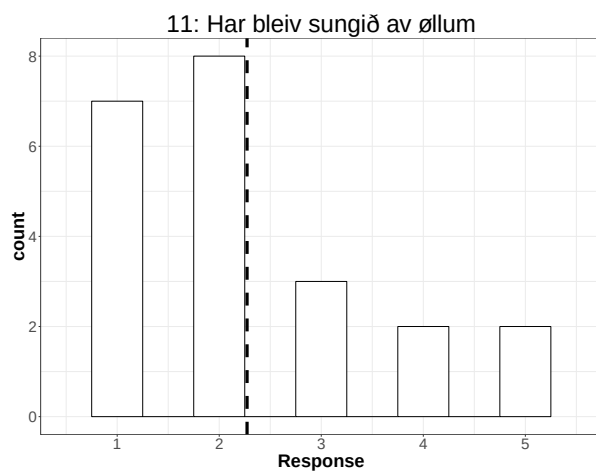
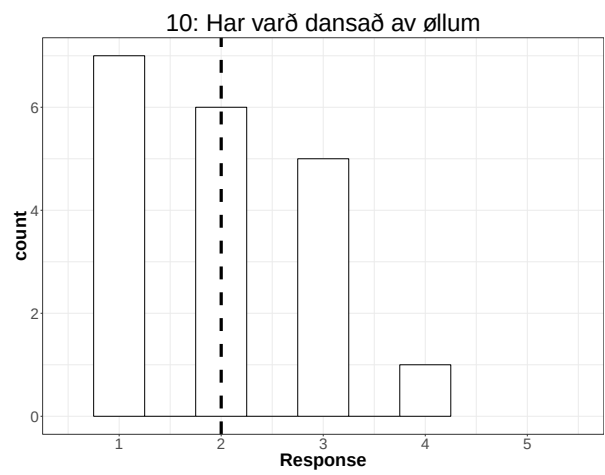
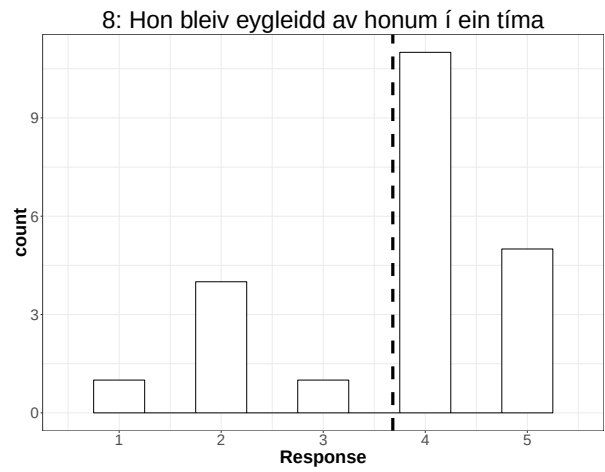
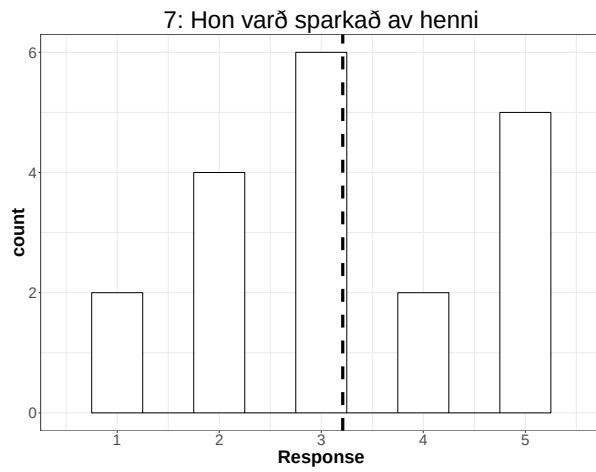


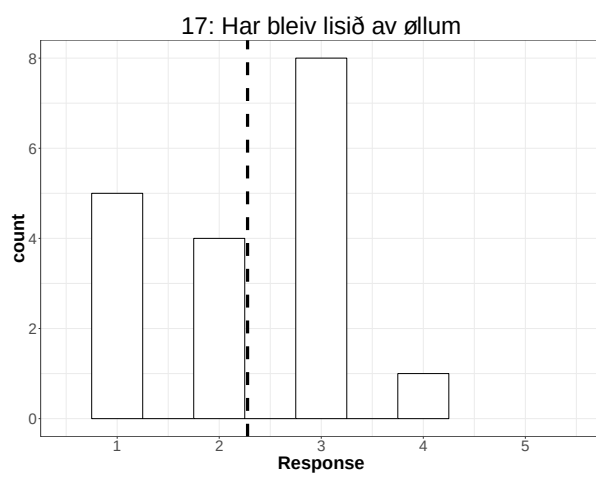
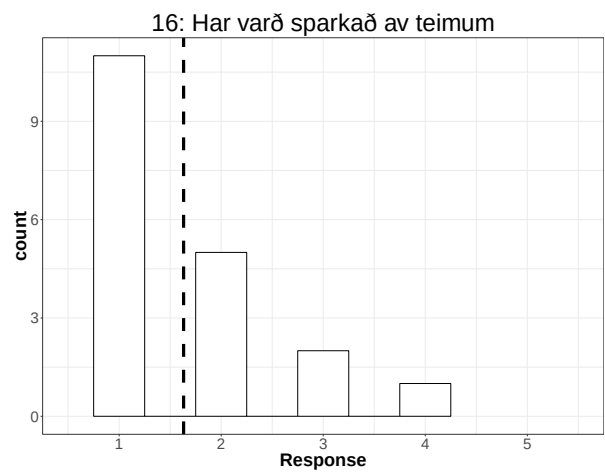
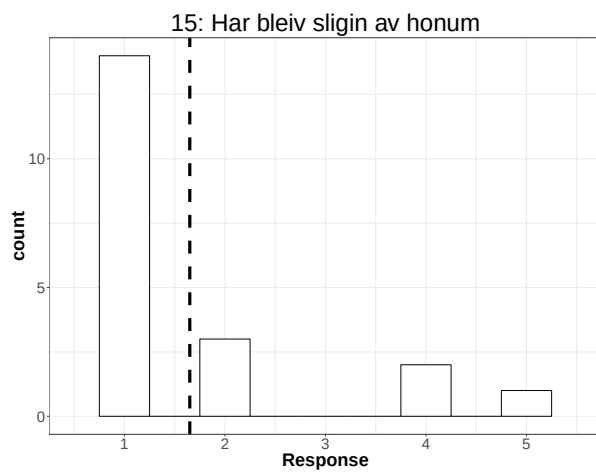
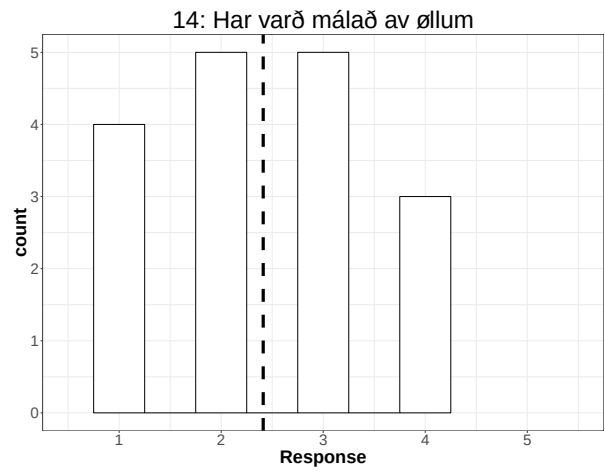
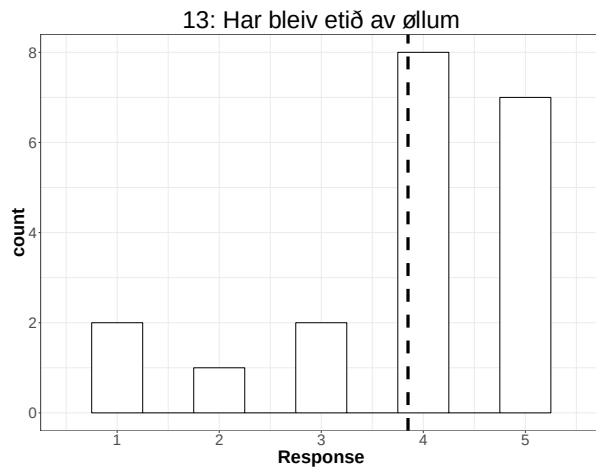




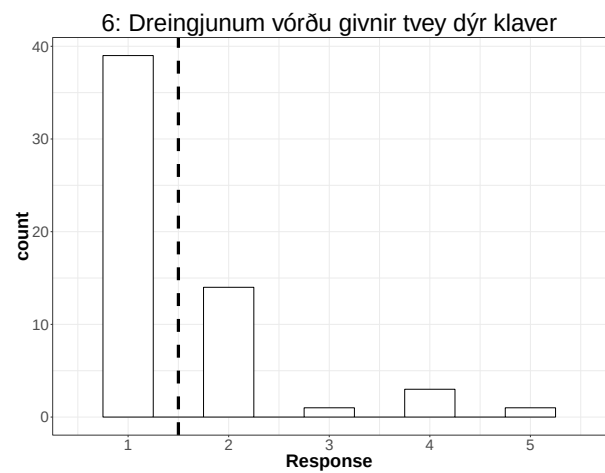
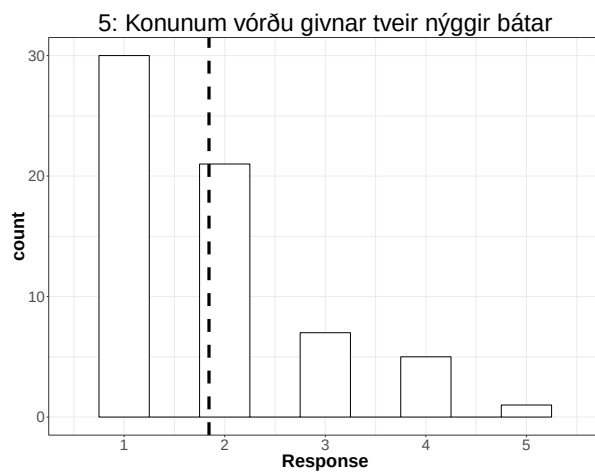
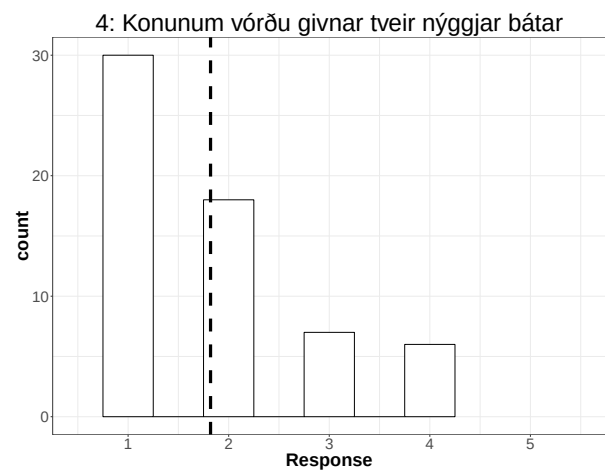
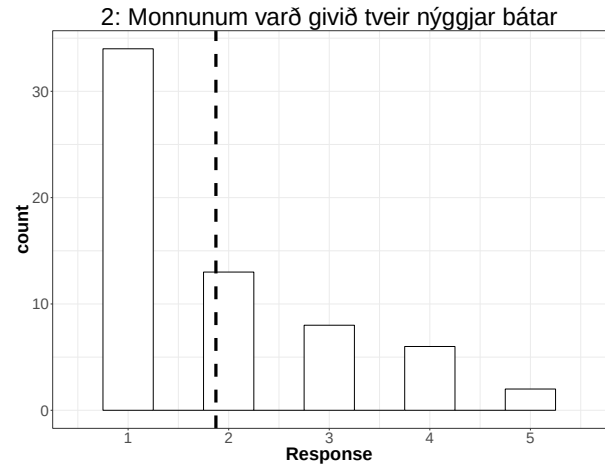
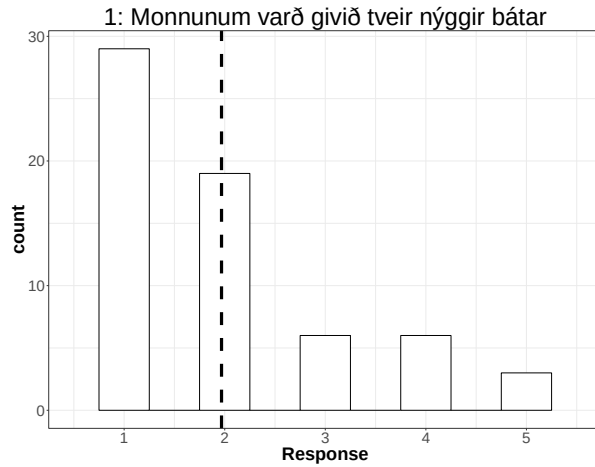
Appendix C5: Faroese passive survey 2

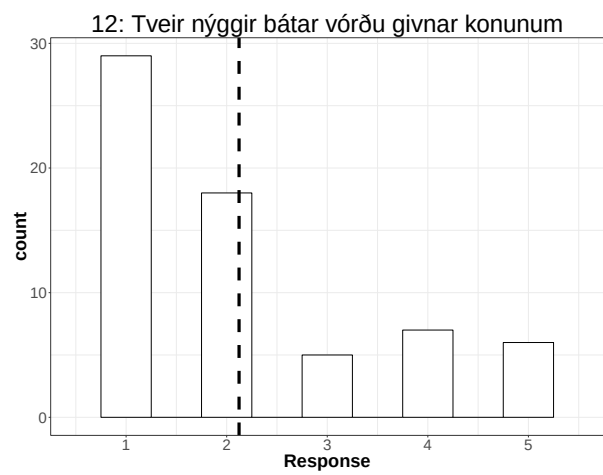
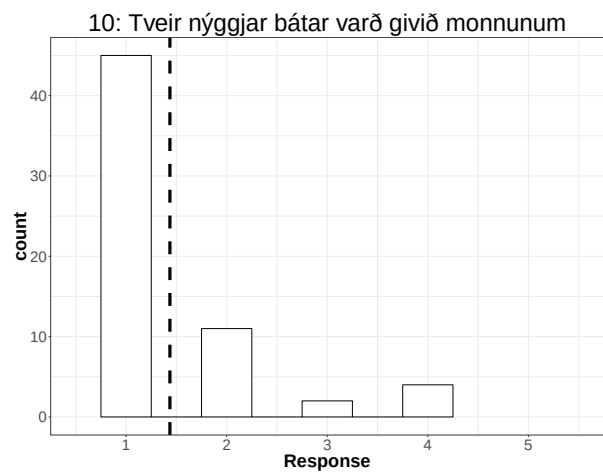
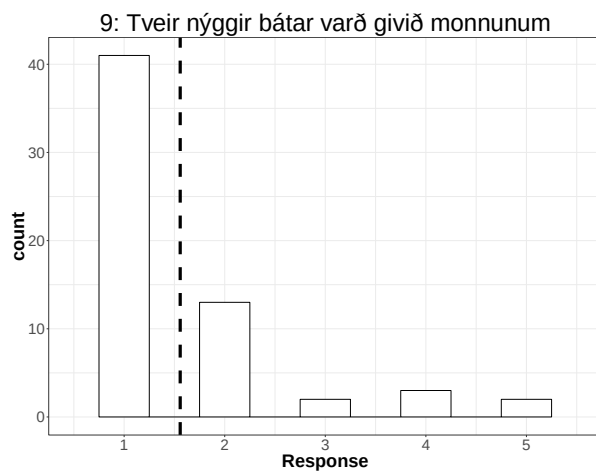
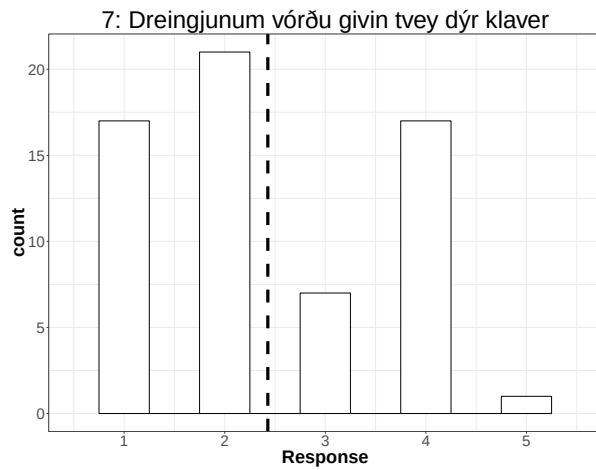


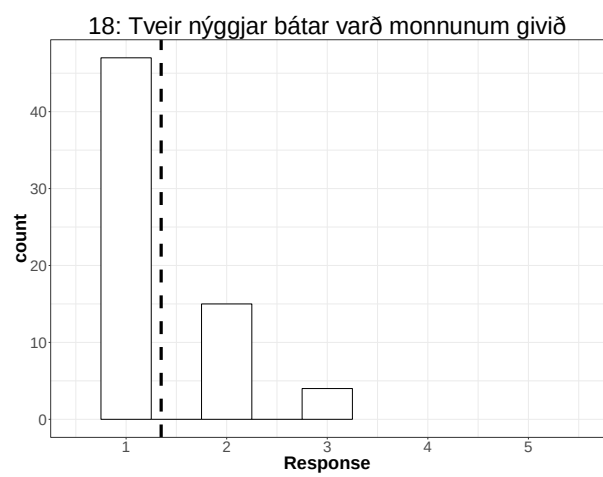
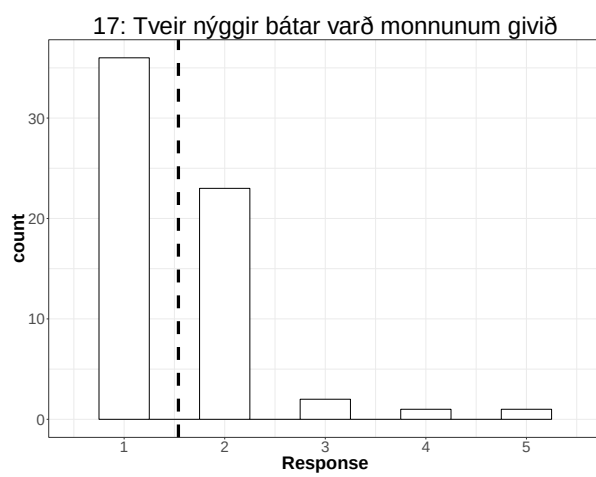
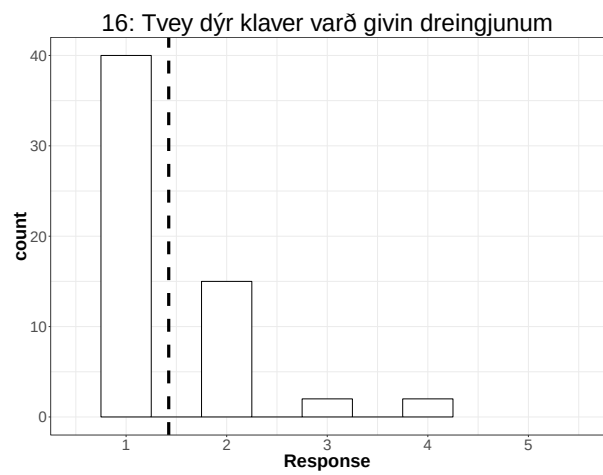
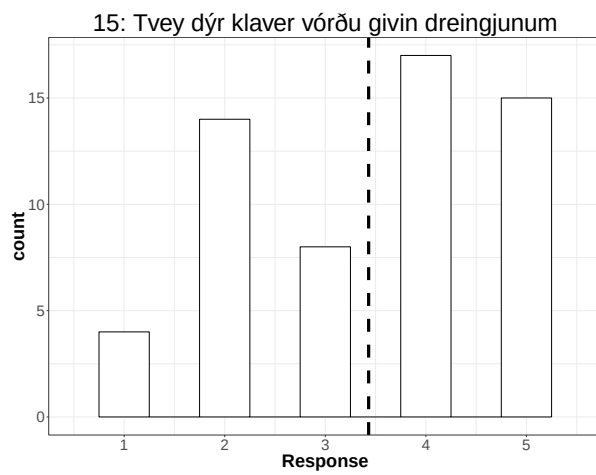
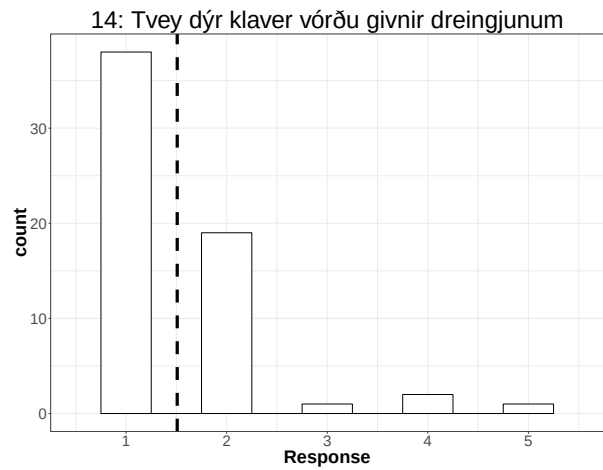


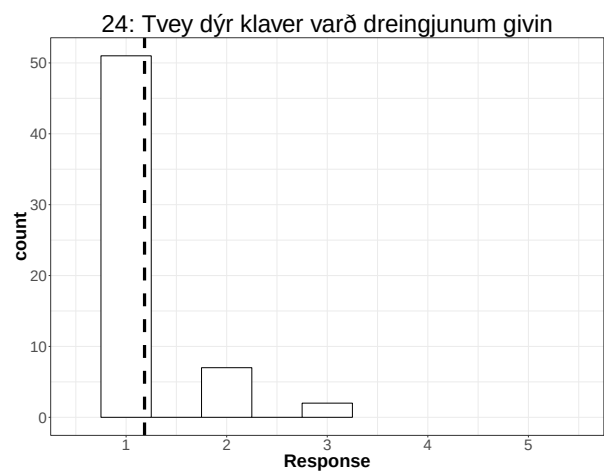
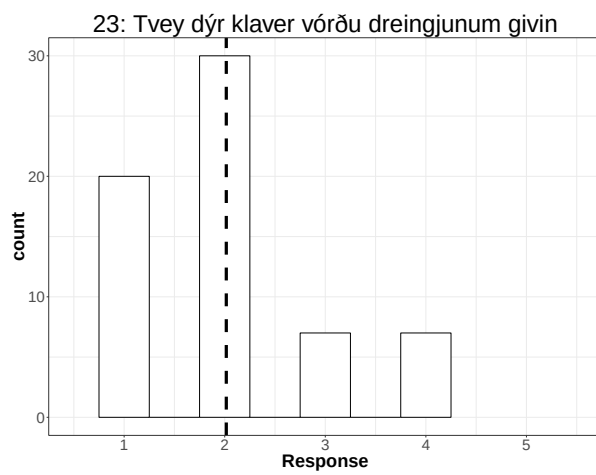
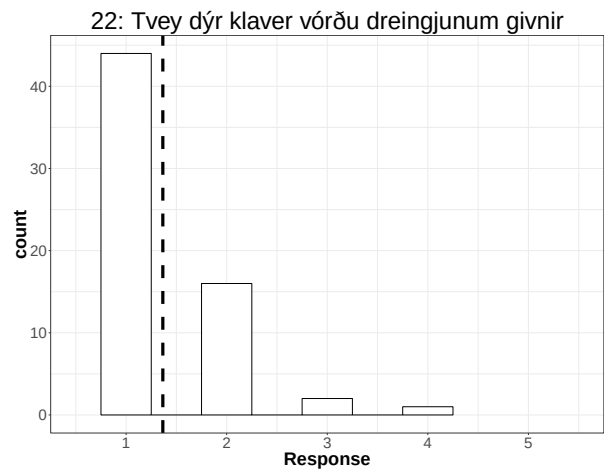


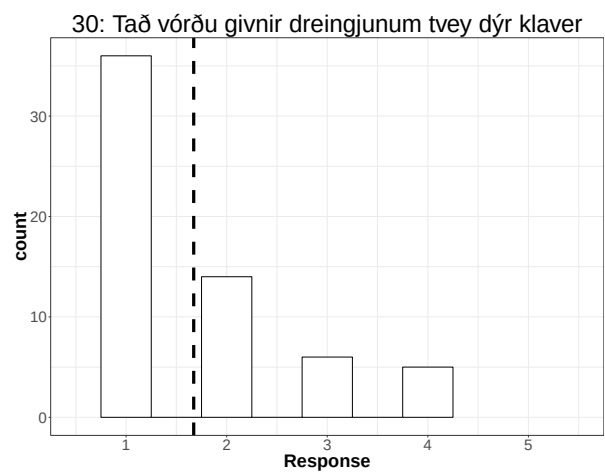
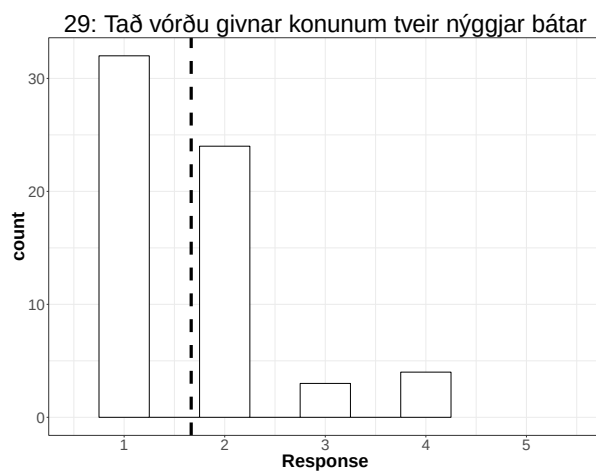
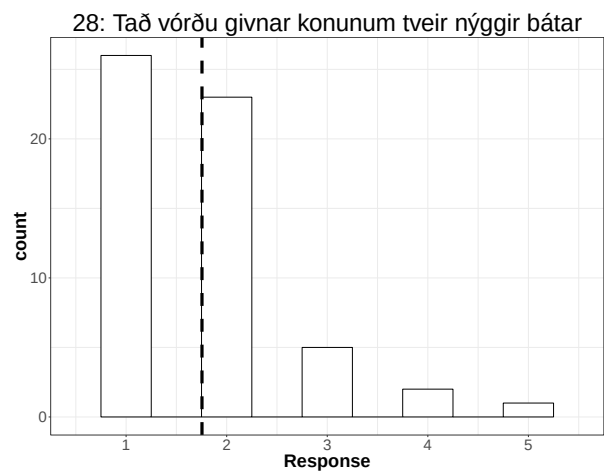
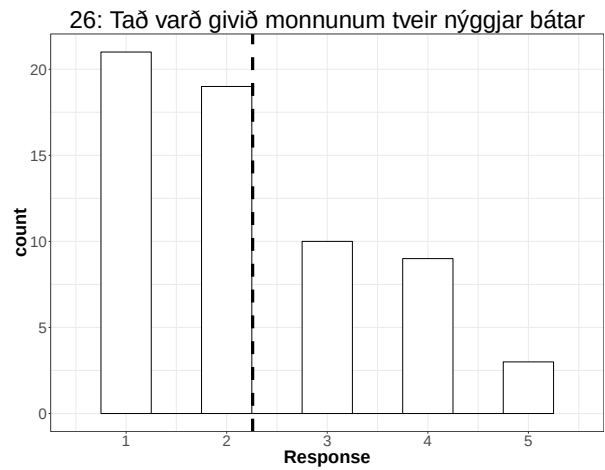
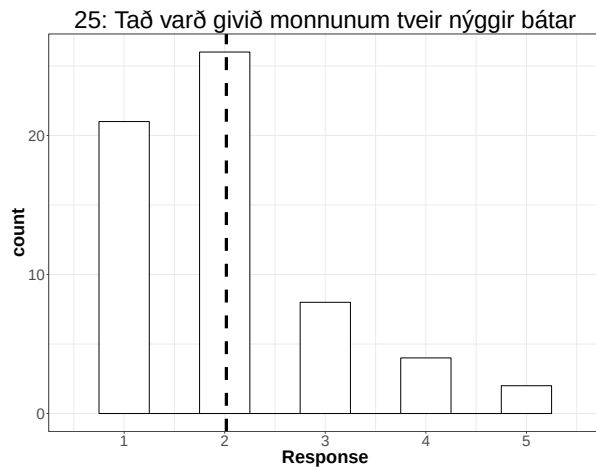
Appendix C6: Faroese 'give' passive surveys

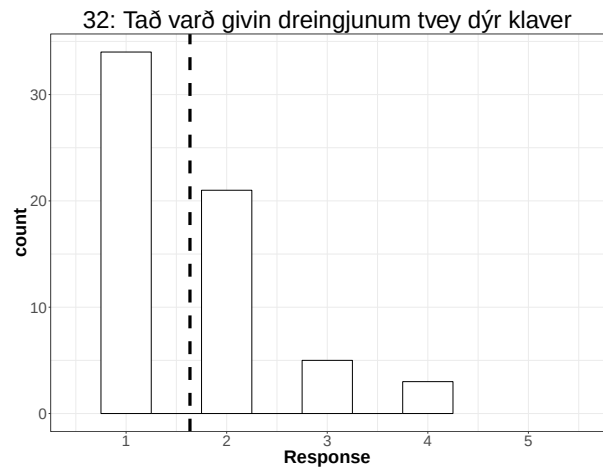
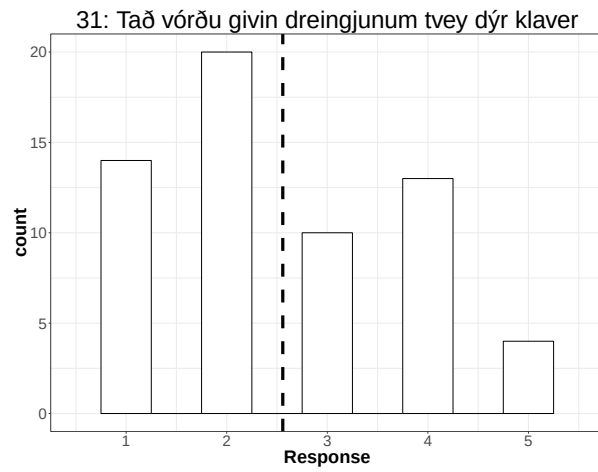




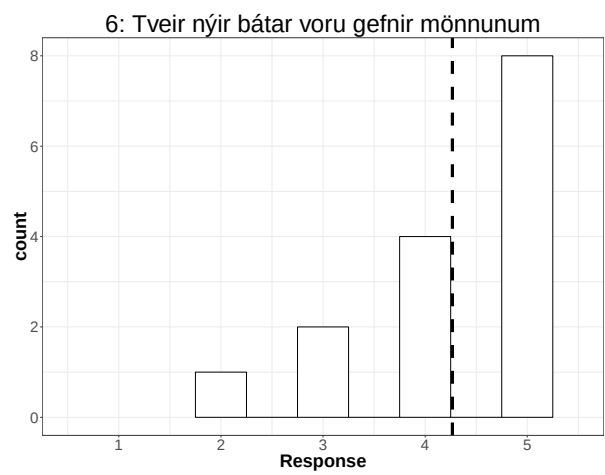
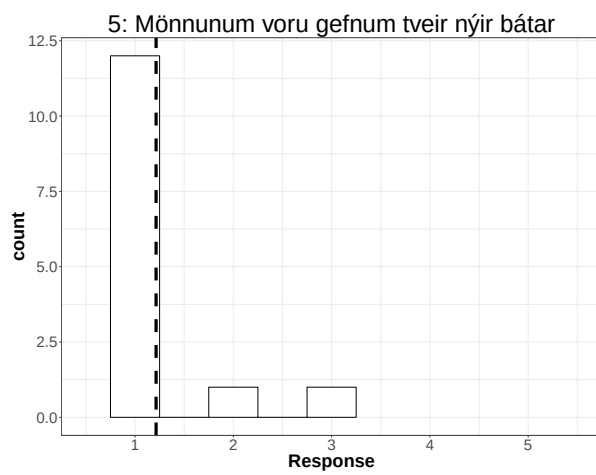
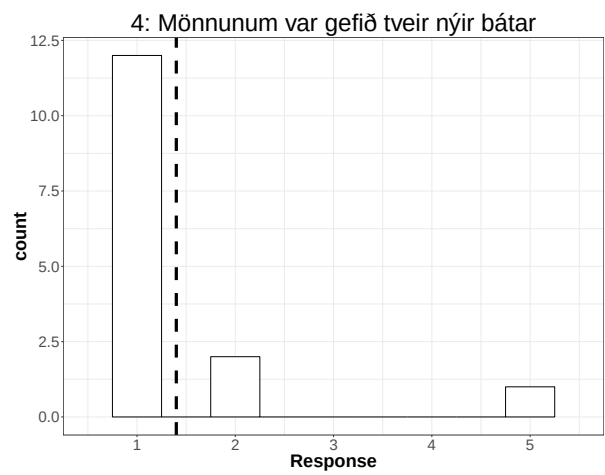


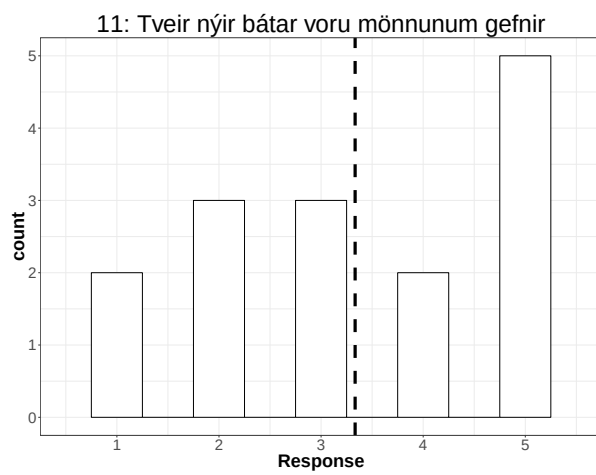
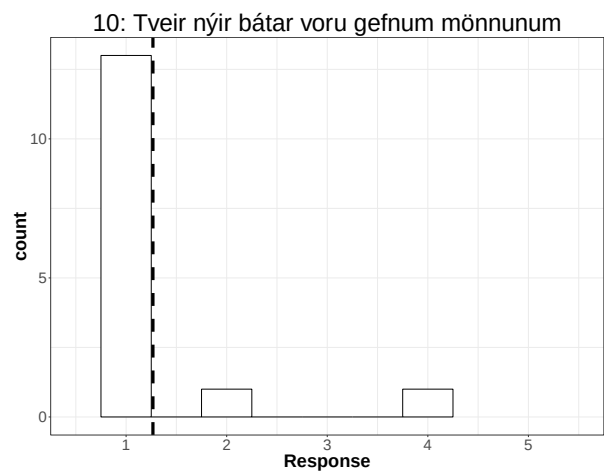
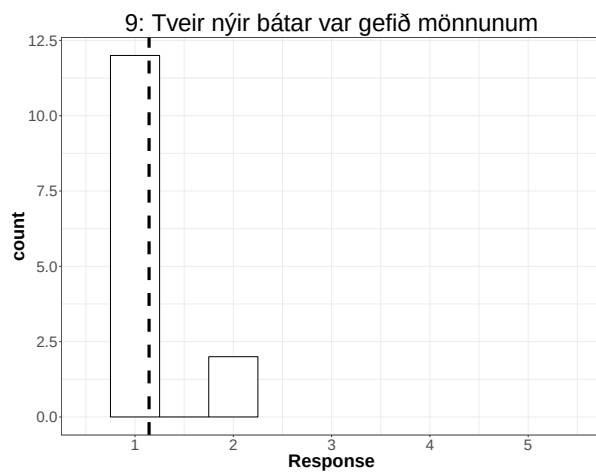
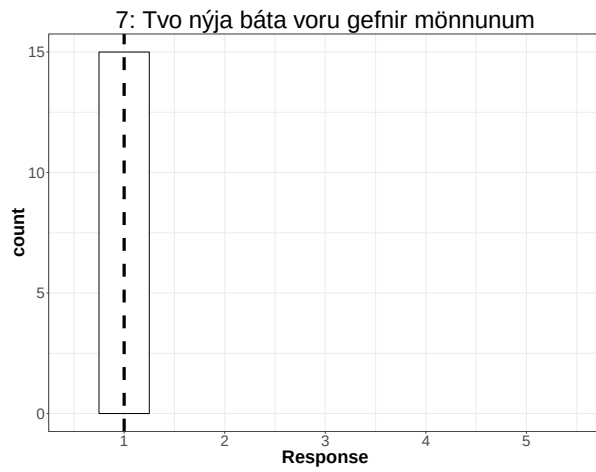


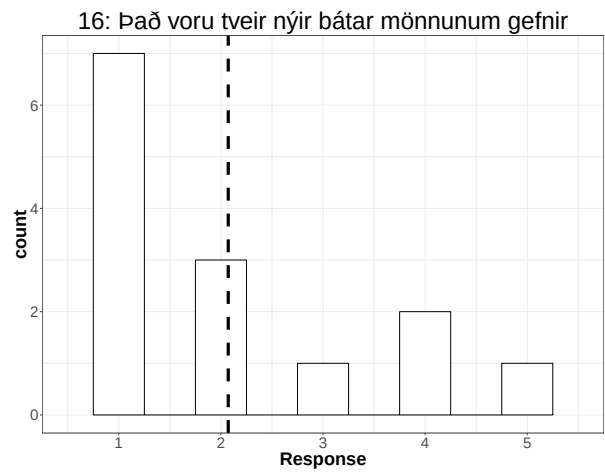
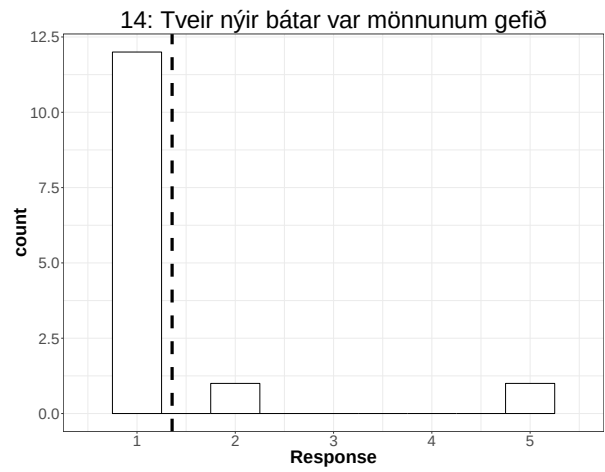


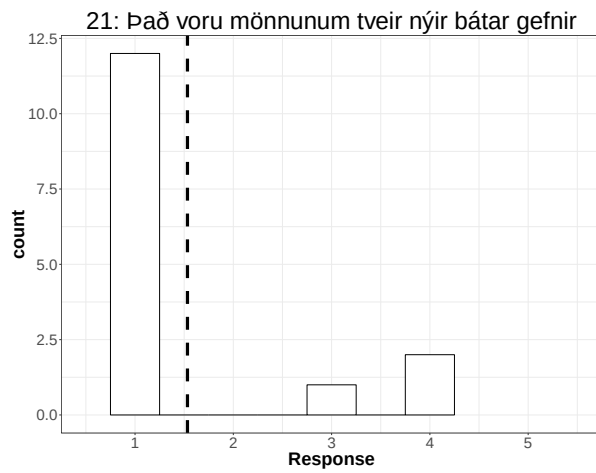
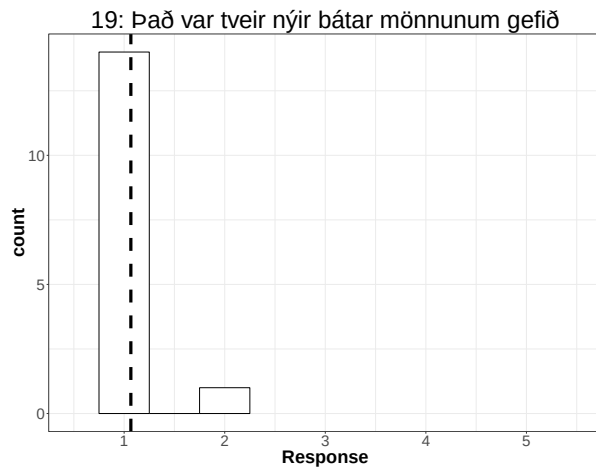


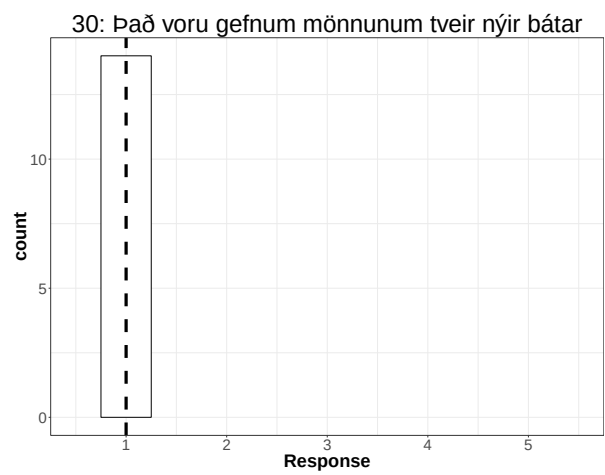
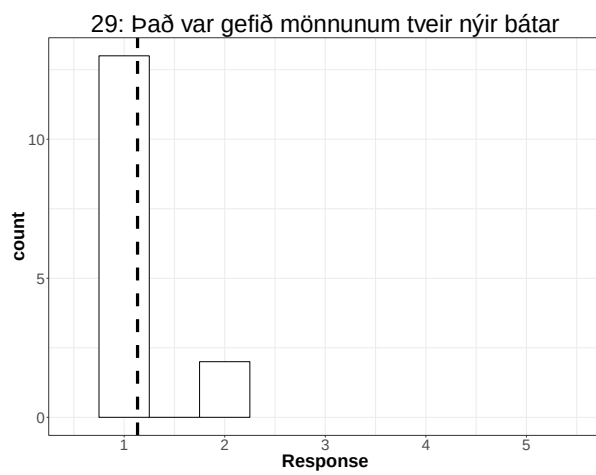
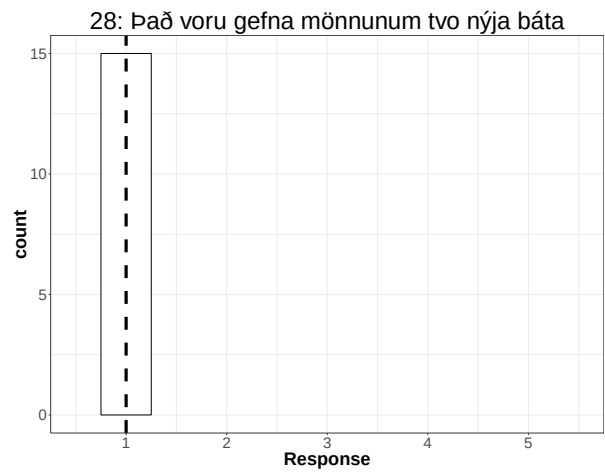
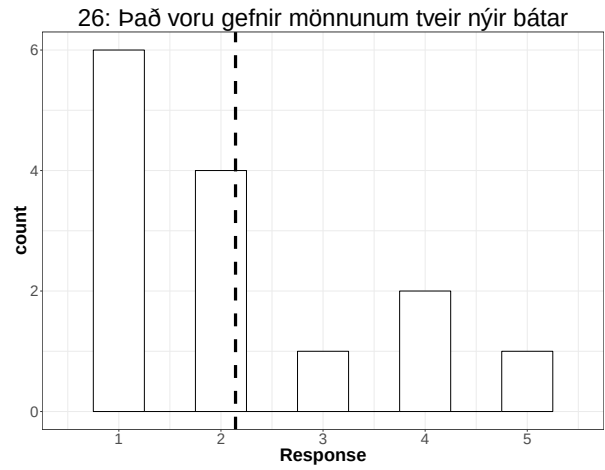
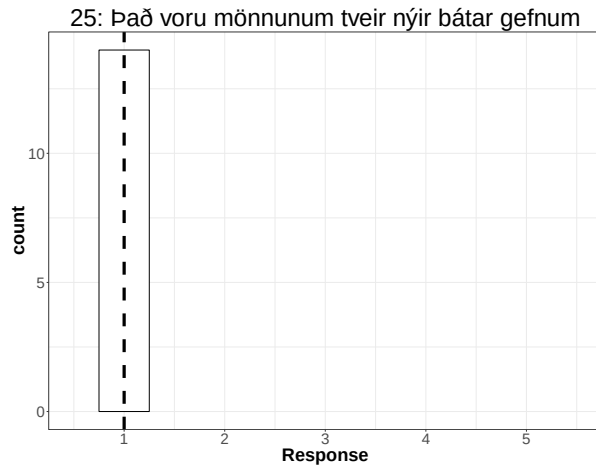
Appendix C7: Icelandic ‘give’ passive survey

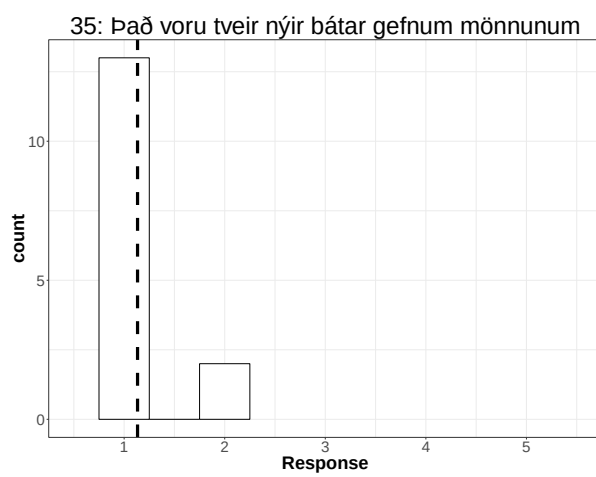
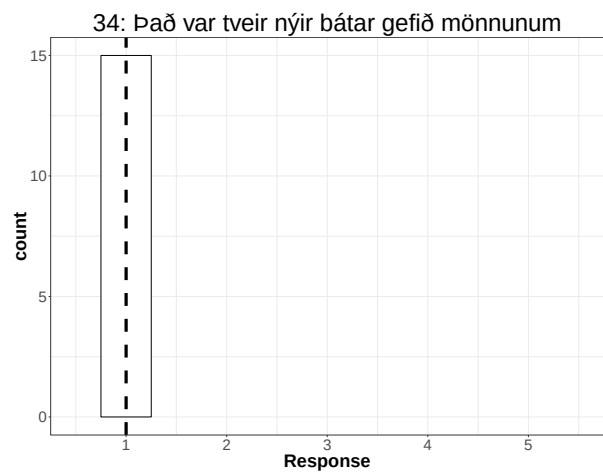
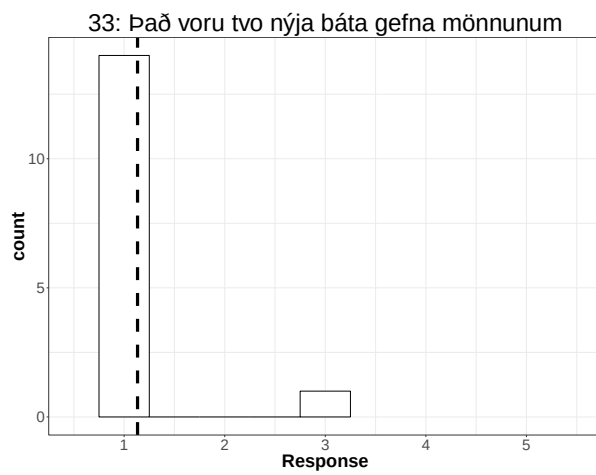
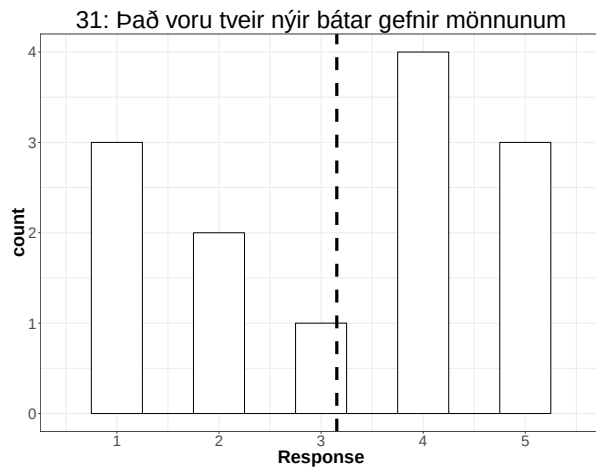




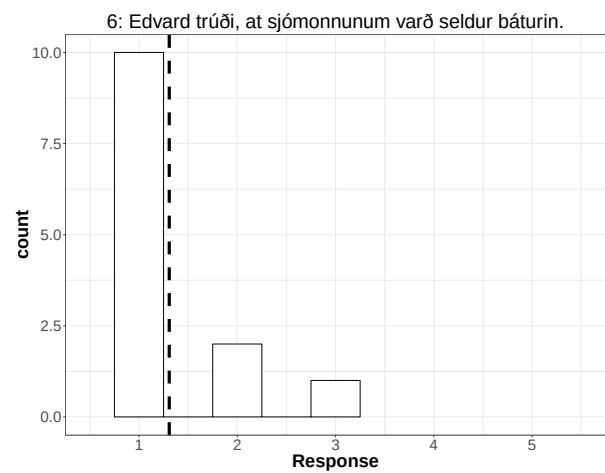
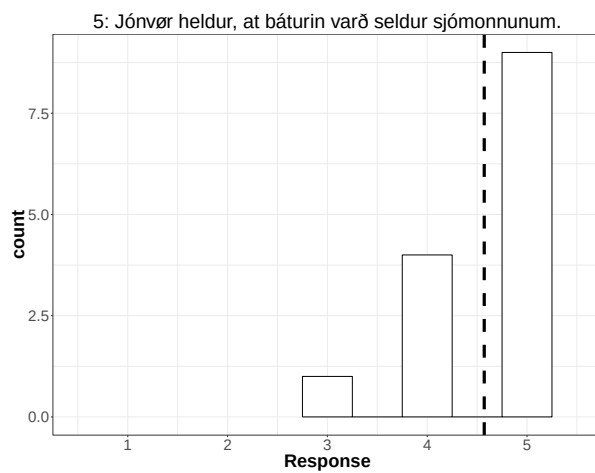
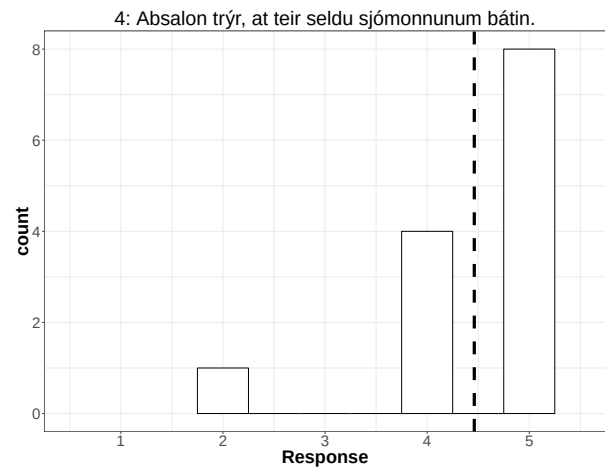
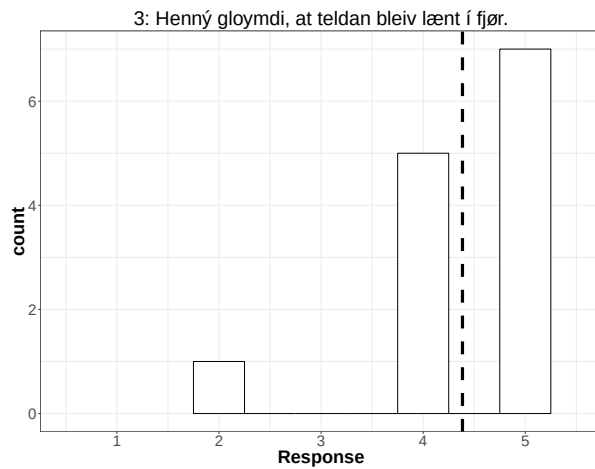
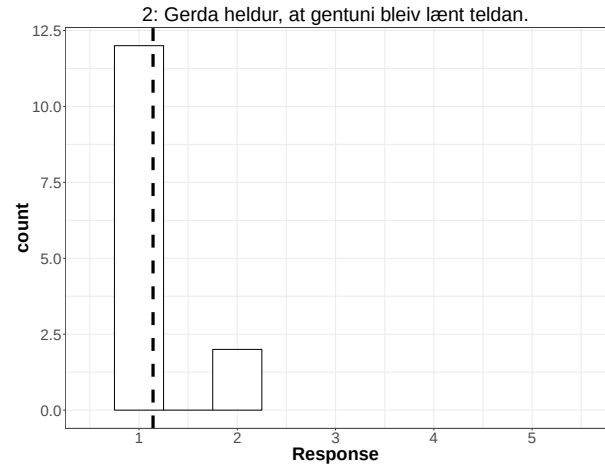
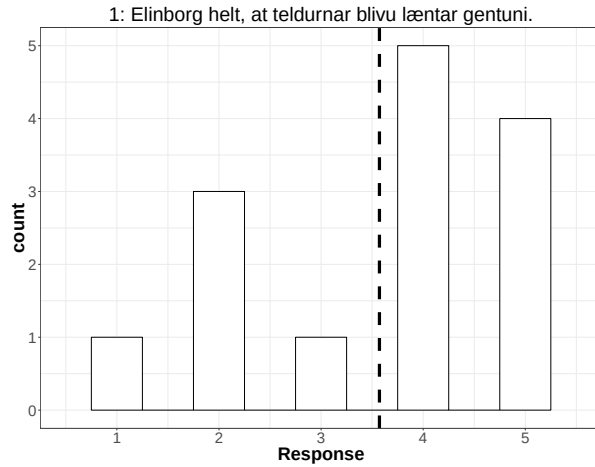


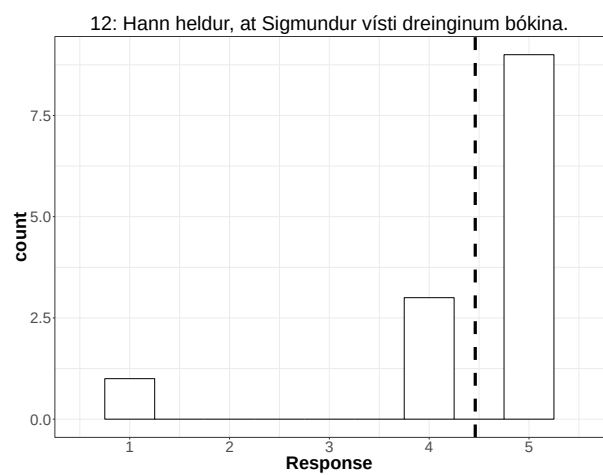
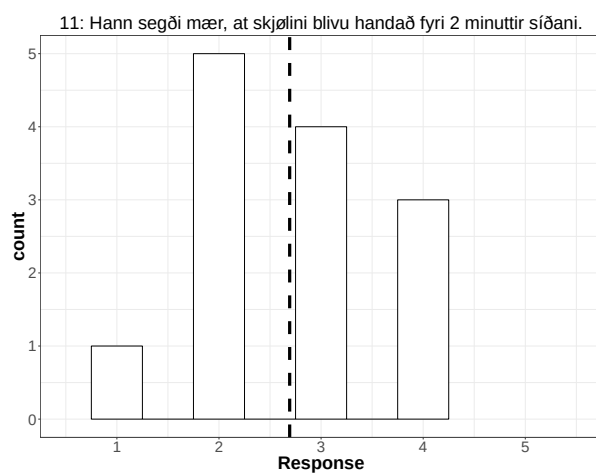
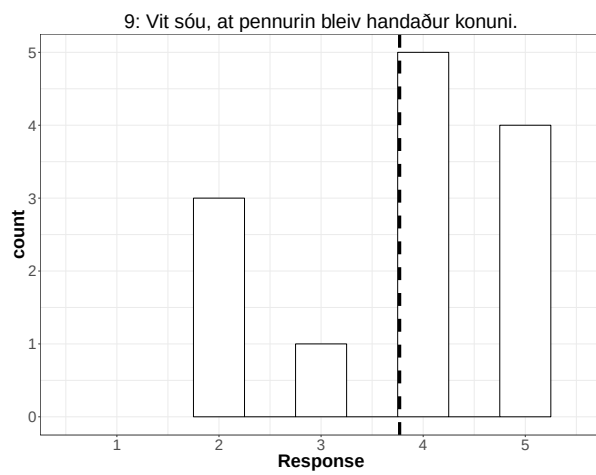
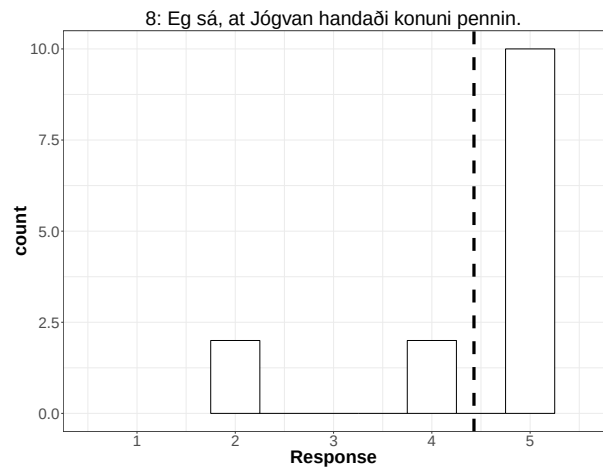
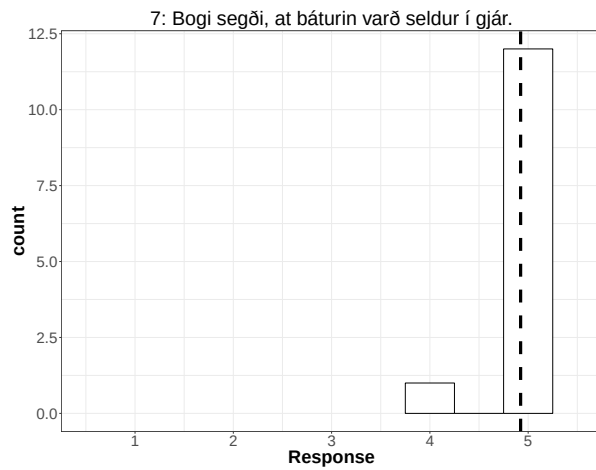


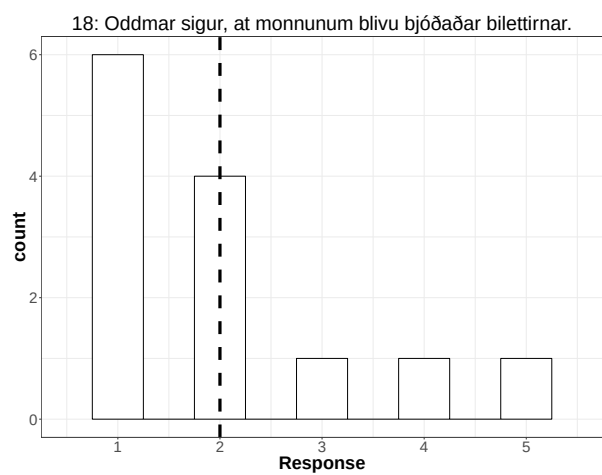
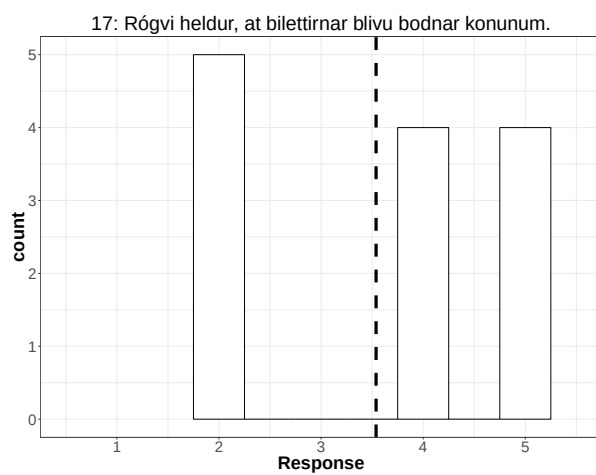
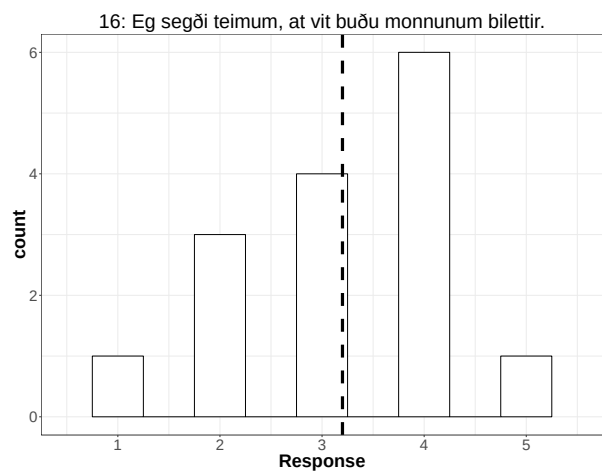
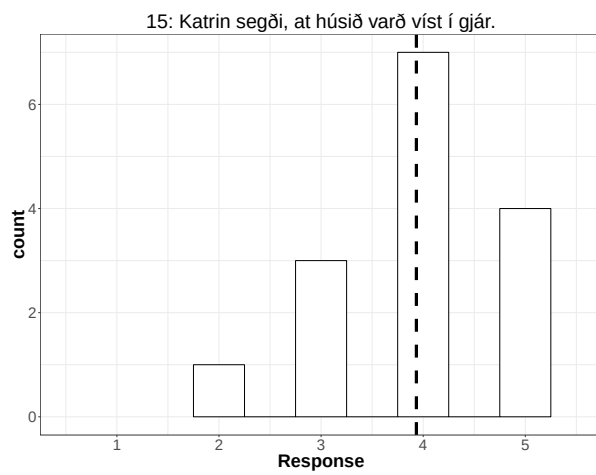
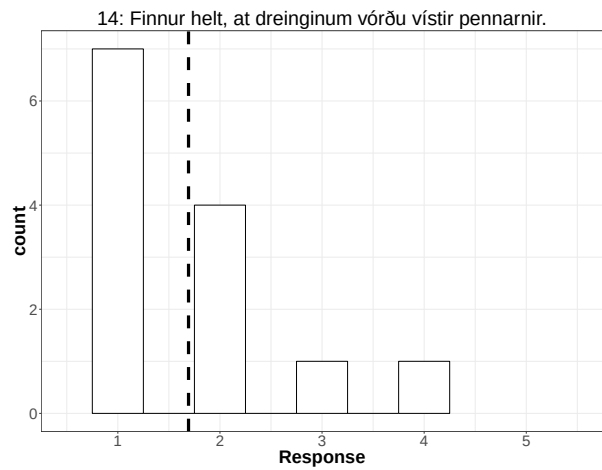
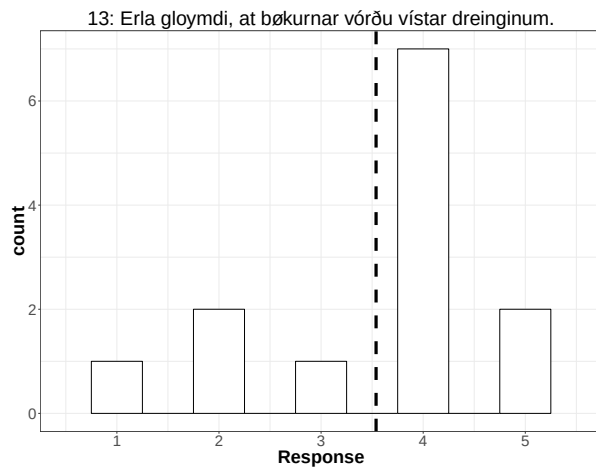


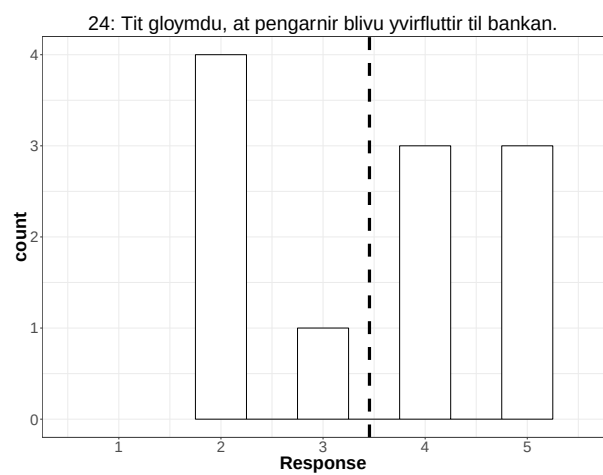
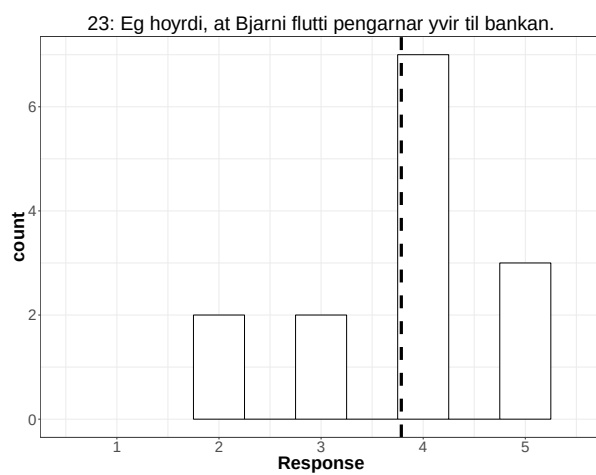
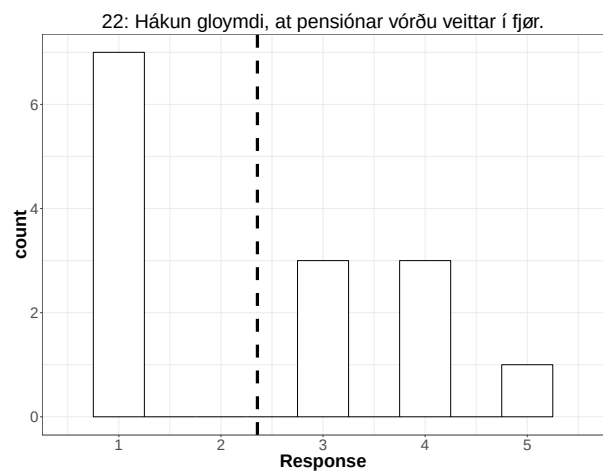
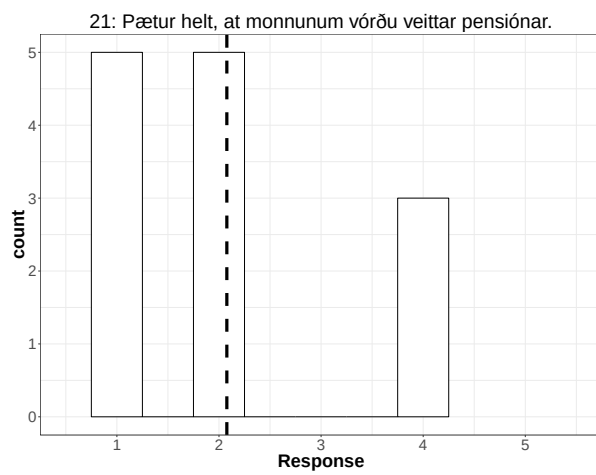
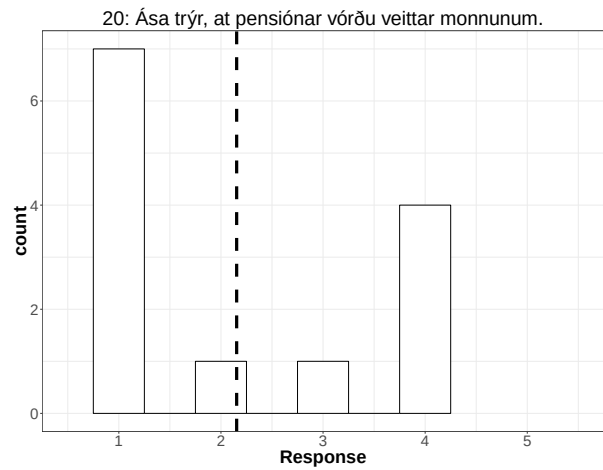
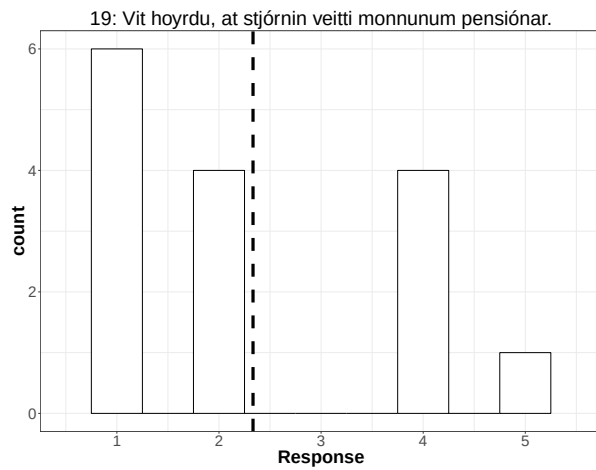


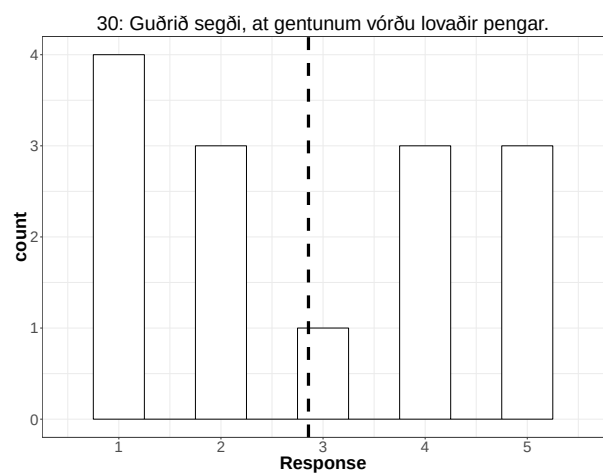
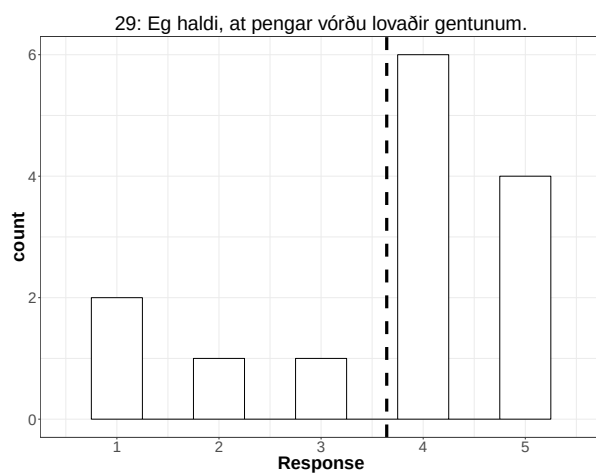
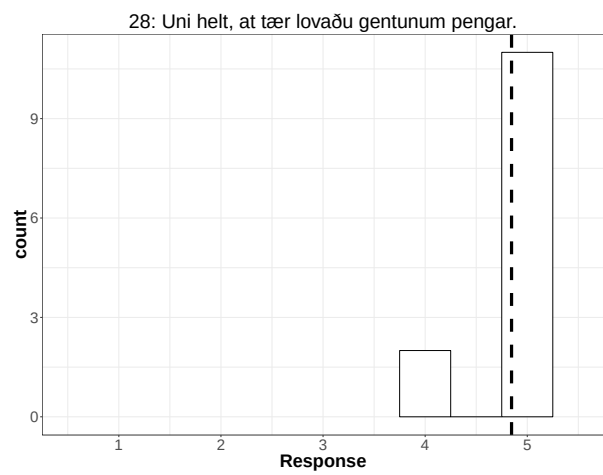
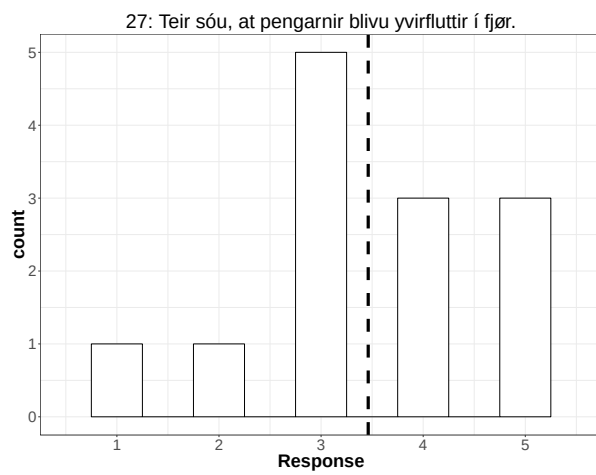
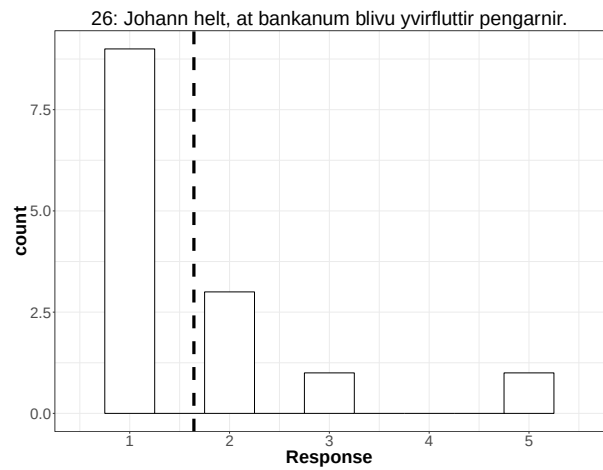
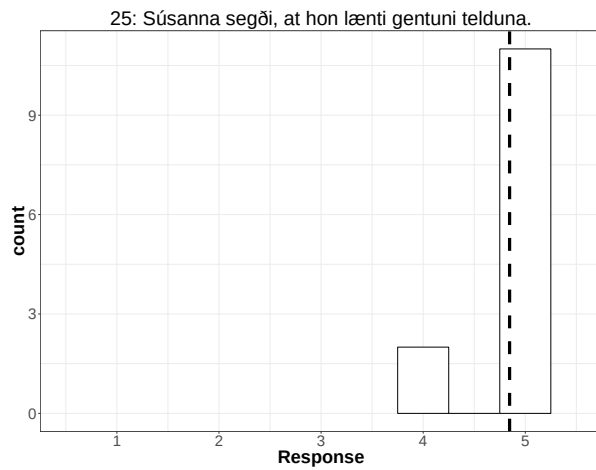
Appendix C8: Faroese survey on ditransitive passives other than ‘give’

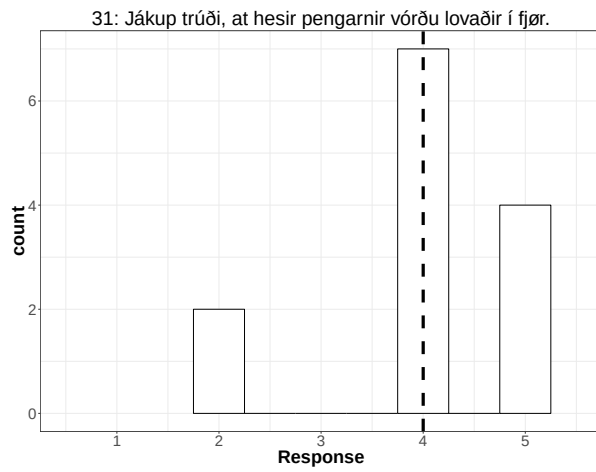












Appendix C9: Faroese survey on the verb *tróta*

